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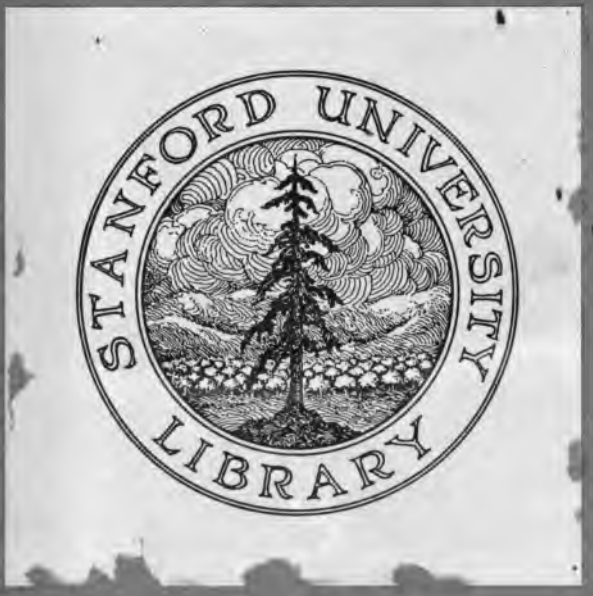
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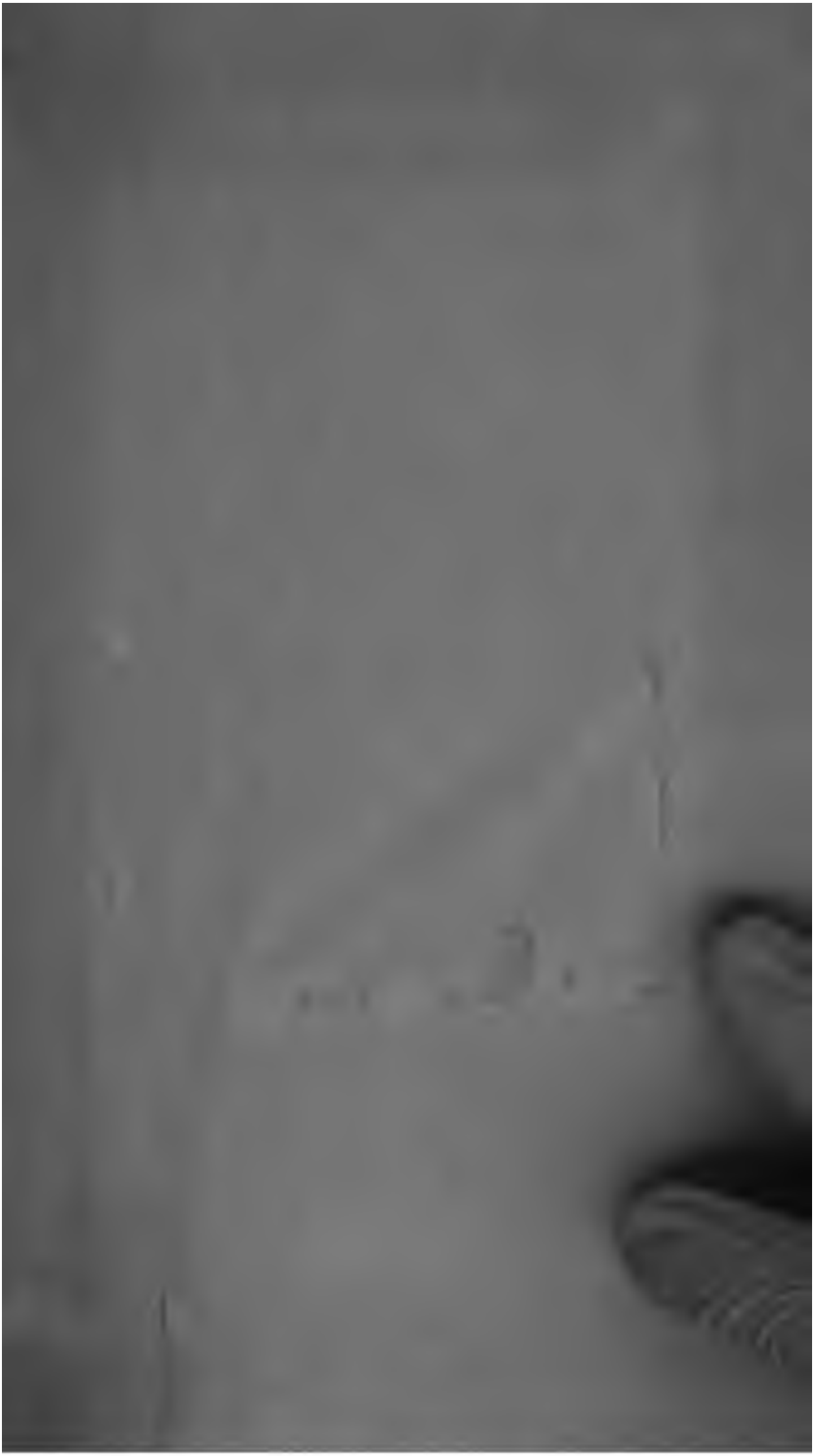

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Private and Public Life

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

BY THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY RICHARD, LORD HOLLAND,

BARON OF HOLLAND IN LINCOLNSHIRE,

AND

OF FOXLEY IN WILTS,

THESE MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN,

THE FIRST STATESMAN,

WHO, BANISHING POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY,

FOUNDED HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT

SOLELY ON THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE,

BY WHICH HE FURNISHED A MODEL OF GOVERNMENT,

CAPABLE OF PRODUCING TO HIS OWN PEOPLE

A SUPERIOR DEGREE OF MORALITY AND HAPPINESS,

AND ENSURING TO FOREIGNERS CONNECTED WITH THE SAME

PEACE, SECURITY, MORAL IMPROVEMENT, AND

THE RIGHTS OF MEN,

ARE INSCRIBED

ENTIRELY OUT OF RESPECT

TO HIS LORDSHIP'S OWN POLITICAL CONDUCT,

ONCE AS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KINGDOM,

AND NOW AS A PEER OF PARLIAMENT,

WHEREBY HE HAS SHOWN HIMSELF

A VINDICATOR OF THE RIGHTS OF INJURED AFRICA,

A FRIEND TO PEACE AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM,

A PATRON OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,

IN ALL WHICH THE GREAT WILLIAM PENN

WAS AN EMINENT FORERUNNER,

BY HIS FRIEND

THOMAS CLARKSON.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

THERE are two principles, by which men usually regulate their conduct, whether in private or in public life. The one is built upon political expediency; the other upon morality and religion.

That, which is built upon the basis of policy, looks almost wholly at the consequences of things, regarding but little whether they be in themselves honest or not. It springs out of the worst part of the nature of man. It has no pretension to any other name than that of *Cunning*. It is of all others the most pernicious in its effects. It leads to oppression at home, to wars abroad, and to every moral evil, of which mankind has had to complain; and it is in general, besides, as far as the actor himself is concerned, productive of disgrace and ruin.

That, which is founded on the basis of religion, is on the other hand never concerned with consequences but in a secondary

dary point of view, regarding solely whether that which is in contemplation be just. Its motto is "Fiat Justitia, ruat Cœlum." It has its origin in the mind of man, but only where it has been first illuminated from above. Its name is *Wisdom*. No other species of action has a title to that sublime appellation. It is the only one, whose effects are blessed. It removes all evils. It promotes all good. It is solid and permanent. It lasts for ever.

I have now to observe, that it is under the influence of this latter principle that we are to see the conduct of William Penn, but more particularly as a public man, in the sheets which follow; or, in other words, we are to have a view of him as a Statesman, who acted upon Christian principle in direct opposition to the usual policy of the world. Such a view of him must be highly gratifying. It must be also highly useful. Suffice it then to say, that the desire I had to contemplate it myself, and to exhibit it to others, furnished the principal motive for the present work.

LIST

LIST

OF

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

CHAPTER I.

William Penn—his origin or lineal descent—as collected from published accounts.

WILLIAM PENN was descended from an ancient family, respectable both in point of character and independence as early as the first public records notice it. The following is a concise account of his origin:

Among his early ancestors were those of the same name, who were living, between four and five centuries ago, at the village of Penn in Buckinghamshire. Further traces of this family are to be found in *Penlands*, *Pen-street*, *Pen-house*, *Pen-wood*, all of them the names of places in the same county.

From the Penns of Penn in Buckinghamshire came the Penns of Penn's Lodge, near Myntie on the edge of Bradon Forest, in the north-west part of the county of Wilts, or rather in Gloucestershire, a small part of the latter being inclosed within the former county. Here, that is, at Penn's Lodge, we know that two, if not more, of the male branches so descended lived in succession. The latter, whose name was William, was buried in Myntie church. A flat gravestone, which perpetuates this event, is still remaining. It stands in the passage between two pews in the chancel. It states, however, only, that he died on the twelfth of March 1591.

From William just mentioned came Giles Penn. Giles, it is known, was a captain in the royal navy. He held also for some time the office of English consul in the Mediterranean. Having intermarried with the family of the Gilberts, who came originally from Yorkshire, but who then lived in the county of Somerset, he had issue a son, whom he called William.

The last mentioned William, following the profession of his father, became a distinguished

guished naval officer. He was born in the year 1621, and commanded at a very early age the fleet which Oliver Cromwell sent against Hispaniola. This expedition, though it failed, brought no discredit upon him, for Colonel Venables was the cause of its miscarriage. It was considered, on the other hand, as far as Admiral Penn was concerned, that he conducted it with equal wisdom and courage. After the restoration of Charles the Second he was commander under the Duke of York in that great and terrible sea-fight against the Dutch, under Admiral Opdam, in the year 1665, where he contributed so much to the victory, that he was knighted. He was ever afterwards received with all the marks of private friendship at court. Though he was thus engaged both under the Parliament and the King, he took no part in the civil war, but adhered to the duties of his profession, which, by keeping him at a distance from the scene of civil commotion, enabled him to serve his country without attaching himself to either of the interests of the day. Besides the reputation of a great and patriot officer, he acquired that of having improved the naval service

in several important departments. He was the author of several little tracts on this subject, some of which are preserved in the British Museum. From the monument erected to his memory by his wife, and which is to be seen in Radcliffe church in the city of Bristol, we may learn something of his life, death, and character. "He was made captain (as this monument records) at the years of twenty-one, rear admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the Streights at twenty-nine, vice admiral of England at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; whence returning anno 1655, he was parliament-man for the town of Weymouth; 1660 made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsale, vice admiral of Munster and a member of that provincial council, and anno 1664 was chosen great captain commander under his royal highness in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet. Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element, but continued still his other employs till 1669: at that time, through bodily infirmities

infirmities contracted by the care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made for his end; and with a gentle and even gale, in much peace arrived and anchored in his last and best port, at Wanstead in the county of Essex, the 16th of September 1670, being then but forty-nine years and four months old." These are the words of the monument.

It will be proper now to observe, that Admiral Sir William Penn, descended in the manner I have related, married Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam in Holland, and that he had a son, William, the person whose life is the subject of the present work.

CHAPTER II.

Is born in 1644—*goes to Chigwell school—religious impressions there—goes to Oxford—his verses on the death of the Duke of Gloucester—is further impressed by the preaching of Thomas Loe—fined for nonconformity and at length expelled—turned out of doors by his father—is sent to France—rencontre at Paris—studies at Saumur—visits Turin—is sent for home—becomes a student at Lincoln's Inn.*

WILLIAM last mentioned, and now to be distinguished from Admiral Sir William Penn, was born in London in the parish of St. Catherine on Tower-Hill on the fourteenth day of October 1644.

He received the first rudiments of his education at Chigwell in Essex, where there was an excellent free grammar school founded only fifteen years before by Samuel Harsnett, archbishop of York. Chigwell was particularly convenient for this purpose, being but at a short distance from Wanstead, which was then the country-residence of his father. As something remarkable is usually said of all great men in the early part of their lives, so it was said of William Penn that, while here and alone in his chamber,

ber, being then eleven years old, he was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort and as he thought an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest conviction of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communication with him. He believed also, that the seal of Divinity had been put upon him at this moment, or that he had been awakened or called upon to a holy life. But whatever was the external occasion, or whether any or none, or whatever were the particular notions which he is said to have imbibed at this period, certain it is, that while he was at Chigwell school his mind was seriously impressed on the subject of religion.

Having left Chigwell at twelve years of age, he went to a private school on Tower-Hill, which was near his father's London residence. Here he had greater advantages than before; for his father, to promote his scholarship, kept for him a private tutor in his own house.

At the age of fifteen he had made such progress in his studies, that it was thought fit to send him to College. He was accordingly

ingly entered a gentleman commoner at Christ's Church, Oxford. He is said to have paid great attention to his college exercises, and yet to have allowed himself all reasonable recreation. The latter consisted partly of manly sports, in which he took great delight, and partly of the society of those young men in the university, who were distinguished either by their talents or their worth. Among those of promising genius he was intimate with Robert Spencer, afterwards the well known Earl of Sunderland, and the venerable John Locke.

It happened, while here, that the Duke of Gloucester, the second brother of Charles the Second, died. He was taken off suddenly by the small-pox in the twenty-first year of his age. The King, who loved him tenderly, appeared to be more concerned for his loss than for any misfortune which had ever befallen him. Indeed all historians agree in giving this young prince an amiable character, so that there was great sorrow in the nation on account of his death. Many belonging to the university of Oxford, partaking of it, both students and others, gave to the world the poetic effusions of their

their condolence on this occasion; and among these William Penn was not behind hand, if we may judge from the following specimen, taken from the *Epicedia Academiæ Oxoniensis in Obitum celsissimi Principis Henrici, Ducis Glocestriensis.* 4to. 1660.

"Publica te, Dux magne, dabant jejunia genti,
Sed facta est, nato principe, festa dies.
Te moriente, licèt celebraret læta triumphos
Anglia, solennes solvitur in lachrymas.
Solus ad arbitrium moderaris pectora; solus
Tu dolor accedis, deliciæque tuis."

The foregoing elegy I cannot translate, particularly into metre, so as either to comprehend the full sense of it, or to do justice to its merits; and, unless it appear in a poetic dress, the force of it would be lost. I shall however make an attempt for the benefit of those who are English readers only.

Though 'twas a *fast-day* when thou cam'st, *thy birth*
Turn'd it at once to one *of festive mirth.*
Though England, *at thy death,* still made her show
Of *public joy* *, she pass'd to *public woe.*
Thou dost, alone, the public breast control,
Alone, delight and sorrow to the soul.

But though William Penn was a youth of

* On account of the Restoration.

a lively

a lively genius, as this little specimen intimates, and though he indulged himself at times in manly sports and exercises, as has been before mentioned, yet he never forgot the religious impressions which he had received at Chigwell school. These, on the other hand, had been considerably strengthened by the preaching of Thomas Loe. This person, a layman, had belonged to the university of Oxford, but had then become a Quaker. The doctrines which he promulgated seem to have given a new turn to the mind of William Penn, who was incapable of concealing what he thought it a duty to profess. Accordingly, on discovering that some of his fellow-students entertained religious sentiments which were in unison with his own, he began, in conjunction with them, to withdraw himself from the established worship, and to hold meetings where they followed their devotional exercises in their own way. This conduct, which soon became known, gave offence to the heads of the college, who in consequence of it fined all of them for nonconformity. This happened in the year 1660.

But the imposition of this fine had not the desired

desired effect. It neither deterred him nor his associates from their old practices, nor from proceeding even further where they thought themselves justified in so doing. An opportunity for this presented itself soon afterwards; for an order came down to Oxford from Charles the Second, that the surplice should be worn according to the custom of ancient times. It was an unusual sight then at that university. This sight operated differently upon different persons; but so disagreeably upon William Penn, who conceived that the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian religion would be destroyed by the introduction of outward ceremonies and forms, that he could not bear it. Engaging therefore his friend Robert Spencer, before mentioned, and some other young gentlemen to join him, he fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and he and they together tore them every where over their heads. This outrage was of so flagrant and public a nature, that the College immediately took it up; and the result was, that William and several of his associates were expelled.

William Penn, after his expulsion from College,

College, returned home. His father is said to have received him coldly. Indeed he could not be otherwise than displeased with his son on account of the public disgrace which he had thus incurred: but that which vexed him most was the change now observable in his habits; for he began to abandon what was called the fashionable world, and to mix only with serious and religious people. It was this dereliction of it which proved the greatest disappointment; for the Admiral was fearful that all the prospects in life which he had formed for his son, and which he could have promoted by his great connexions, would be done away. Anxious therefore to recover him, he had recourse to argument. This failing, like one accustomed to arbitrary power, he proceeded to blows; and the latter failing also, he turned him out of doors.

The Admiral, after a procedure so violent, began at length to relent. He was himself, though perhaps hasty in his temper, a man of an excellent disposition, so that his own good feelings frequently opposed themselves to his anger on this occasion. His wife too,

an

an amiable woman, lost no opportunity of intercession. Overcome therefore by his own affectionate nature on the one hand, and by her entreaties on the other, he forgave his son. But he was desirous of meeting the evil for the future, and he saw no other means of doing it than by sending his son to France. He indulged a hope that the change of scene might wean him from his old connexions, and that the gaiety of French manners might correct the growing gravity of his mind. Accordingly in 1662 he sent him to that country, in company with certain persons of rank who were then going upon their travels.

The place where William first resided was Paris. While here, but one anecdote concerning him is recorded. It happened that he was attacked one evening in the street by a person who drew his sword upon him in consequence of a supposed affront. A conflict immediately ensued. William in the course of it disarmed his antagonist, but proceeded no further, sparing his life when by the confession of all those who relate the fact he could have taken it; thus exhibiting, says Gerard Croese, a testimony

testimony not only of his courage, but of his forbearance.

It is nowhere said how long he remained at Paris; but it is probable that his stay there was very short, and moreover that the gaiety and dissipation of that city was far from pleasing him; for we find him afterwards with his companions a resident for some months, in the years 1662 and 1663, at Saumur; whither he had gone to avail himself of the conversation and instruction of the learned Moses Amyrault, who was a Protestant minister of the Calvinistic persuasion, professor of divinity at Saumur, and at this time in the highest estimation of any divine in France. His works, such as his Paraphrase on the New Testament and Psalms, his Apology for his Religion, his Treatise on Free-will, his Exaltation of Faith and Abasement of Reason, with many others, had been then widely circulated and read. The greatest men in that kingdom, both Calvinists and Catholics, honoured him with their friendship; and he was so highly esteemed by the Cardinal Richlieu, that the latter imparted to him his design of uniting the two churches.

The

The learned Monsieur du Bosc, on seeing the print of his friend Moses when it came out, wrote under it this distich:

"A Mose ad Mosem par Mosi non fuit ullus;
More, ore, et calamo mirus uterque fuit."

These lines the English biographer, who has noticed the life of Moses Amyrault, has translated thus:

From Moses down to Moses none,
Among the sons of men,
With equal lustre ever shone
In manners, tongue, and pen.

Under a man so conspicuous William Penn renewed his studies. He read the Fathers; he turned over the pages of theology: he applied himself to the rudiments of the French language, so as to become a proficient in the knowledge of it. His residence here I beg the reader to remember, because it will throw light upon a circumstance which will require development in the course of the present work.

It appears when he left Saumur that he directed his course towards Italy, and that he had reached Turin in his way thither; for, while there, a letter reached him from his father desiring his return home. His father

father had then received notice that he was to command the fleet against the Dutch, and wished his son to take care of the family in his absence. William in consequence returned. This was in 1664. During the few opportunities he had with his father, he is said to have given satisfaction; for though he had not gone back (as indeed it would seem impossible under the care of Moses Amyrault) in his regard and concern for religion, he was yet more lively in his manners than before. He had contracted also a sort of polished or courtly demeanour, which he had insensibly taken from the customs of the people among whom he had lately lived.

It was thought advisable, as he had now returned from the continent, that he should know something of the laws of his own country; and accordingly, on the suggestion of his father, he became a student of Lincoln's Inn. He remained there for about a year, when the great plague making its appearance in London, he quitted it, with many others, on the reasonable precaution of self-preservation. This took place in the year 1665, in which year he became of age.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

A. 1666-1667—is sent to Ireland—attends the court of the Duke of Ormond—meets again with Thomas Loe—impression again made by the sermon of the latter—is put into gaol for being at a Quakers' meeting—writes to Lord Orrery—is discharged from prison—is reported to be a Quaker—ordered home on that account by his father—interesting interview between them—conditions offered him by his father—is again turned out of doors.

It is not probable, where men have pursued a path in conformity with their belief of divine truths, that any ordinary measures taken to divert them from it will be successful. The fire kindled in their minds may indeed be smothered for a time, but it will eventually break forth. Such was the state of the mind of William Penn at this period. He had come from the continent with an air of gaiety and the show of polite manners, which the Admiral had mistaken for a great change in his mind. But now, in 1666, all volatile appearances had died away. The grave and sedate habits of his countrymen, the religious controversies then afloat, these and other circumstances of a similar ten-

dency had caused the spark which had appeared in him to revive in its wonted strength. He became again a serious person. He mixed again only with grave and religious people. His father, when he returned from sea, could not but notice this change. It was the more visible on account of the length of his absence. He saw it with all his former feelings; with the same fear for the consequences, and the same determination to oppose it. Not easily to be vanquished, he determined a second time to endeavour to break up his son's connections; and to effect this, he sent him to Ireland.

One reason which induced him to make choice of Ireland for this purpose, was his acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, (who was then lord lieutenant of that country,) as well as with several others who attended his court. The Duke himself was a man of a graceful appearance, lively wit, and cheerful temper; and his court had the reputation of great gaiety and splendour. The Admiral conceived, therefore, if his son were properly introduced among his friends there, that he might even yet receive a new bias, and acquire a new taste.

But

But this scheme of the Admiral did not answer. Nothing which William saw there could shake his religious notions, or his determination to a serious life. Every thing, on the other hand, which he saw, tended to confirm them. He considered the court, with its pomp and vanity, its parade and ceremonies, as a direct nursery for vice; and as to its routine of pleasures, it became to him only a routine of disgust.

Thus disappointed again in his expectations, but not yet overcome, the Admiral had recourse to another expedient, an expedient, indeed, which he had always contemplated in case of the failure of the other. He had large estates in Ireland, one of which, comprehending Shannigary Castle, lay in the barony of Imokelly, and the others in the baronies of Ibaune and Barryroe, all of them in the county of Cork. He determined therefore to give his son the sole management of these, knowing at least, while he resided upon them, that he would be far from his English connections, and at any rate that he would have ample employment for his time. William received his new commission. He was happy in the execution

of it. He performed it also, after a trial of many months, to the entire satisfaction and even joy of his father; and he was going on in the yet diligent performance of it, when, alas! this his very occupation (so often do the efforts made to prevent an apprehended evil become the means of introducing it) brought him eventually into the situation which his father of all others deprecated! Being accidentally on business at Cork, he heard that Thomas Loe (the layman of Oxford, mentioned in the preceding chapter to have been the person who first confirmed his early religious impressions,) was to preach at a meeting of the Quakers in that city. It was impossible that he could return to his farm without seeing the man whom he considered as his greatest human benefactor, and still more without hearing his discourse. Accordingly he attended. The preacher at length rose. He began with the following text: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this subject he enlarged, and this in so impressive a manner that William was quite overcome. The words indeed of the text were so adapted

to

to his situation, that he could hardly help considering them as peculiarly addressed to himself; for, from the time of his leaving Chigwell school to the present, there had been a constant struggle between himself and the world, and this entirely on account of his faith. Such a discourse, if ably handled, must have come home to him in every sentence. He must have seen his own arduous conflict personified as it were and pourtrayed before him. He must have seen the precipice on which he had stood, with the gulf terrible below. He must have seen some angel in the picture cheering him for the efforts he had already made, and some other holding up to his view at a distance a wreath of never-fading glory, which he might gain by perseverance for the time to come. But whatever were the topics of this discourse, it is certain that William was so impressed by it, that though he had as yet not discovered a partiality for any particular sect, he favoured the Quakers as a religious body from that day.

The result of this preference was, that he began to attend their religious meetings. But, alas! he soon learnt, from the ignorant prejudices

prejudices of the times, that in following the path which his own conscience dictated to him, he had a bitter cup to drink; for being at one of these meetings on the third of September 1667, he was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation issued in 1660 against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor. The latter, looking at him and observing that he was not clothed as others of the society were, offered him his liberty if he would give bond for his good behaviour. But William not choosing to do this, he was committed with eighteen others to prison.

He had not been long there when he wrote to Lord Orrery, then president of the council of Munster, to request his release. We find in this letter nothing either servile or degrading. It was written, on the other hand, in a manly and yet decorous manner. "*Religion*," says he, "which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but *mine own free man*." He then informed the Earl of the reason of his imprisonment: he showed him, that the proclamation did not reach his case; and concluded by an appeal to his own

own good sense, and to his better knowledge of theology, and by reminding him of his own conduct, when he himself was a solicitor in behalf of liberty of conscience as one of the greatest blessings which could be bestowed upon the land. This request, as far as William was concerned, was quickly granted; for the Earl immediately ordered his discharge.

William Penn had now for the first time tasted persecution for having gratified his religious predilections, and had received an earnest of what he might expect if he continued publicly to indulge them in his own way. This experience, however, had not the effect of making him desert his new Christian connections. On the other hand, it strengthened him in the resolution of a closer union with them. He had begun to suffer with them. He had begun too to suffer for their cause. Mixing therefore more intimately with them than ever, from this period, he began to be considered by many, and even to be called by some, a Quaker.

The rumour that he had become a Quaker soon reached his father. It was conveyed to him

him by a nobleman then resident in Ireland, who addressed him purposely on the subject. The Admiral on the receipt of this letter sent for his son. William immediately obeyed, and returned home. At the first interview all appeared to be well. There was nothing discoverable, either in his dress or his manners, by which the information sent concerning him could be judged to be true. In process of time, however, the concern of mind under which he occasionally laboured, his dereliction of the customs of the world, and particularly of the ceremony of the Hat, and his communion with those only of the same peculiar cast, left no doubt of the fact. The Admiral, now more uneasy than ever, (for he had tried his last expedient,) could no longer contain himself, but came to a direct explanation with his son on the subject. The scene which passed between them is described as having been peculiarly affecting. "And here," says Joseph Besse, (the first collector of the works of William Penn with a Journal of his Life prefixed,) "my pen is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was between his father and him: his father actuated by

by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare: his father grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasures was inconsistent with his obedience to his heavenly one: his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience: his father earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble: his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein: his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trial."

This interview, though some of the best feelings of the human mind were called forth in the course of it on the part of William, had

had not the desired effect: for the die was then cast; he had actually become—a Quaker. The Admiral, after this, gave up all thought of altering the general views of his son. He hoped only to be able to prevail upon him to give up certain peculiarities which appeared to have little to do with conscience, and to be used merely as the distinguishing marks of a sect. He therefore told his son, that he would trouble him no more on the subject of his conversion, if he would only consent to sit with his hat off in his own presence, and in that of the King and the Duke of York. William, on receiving the proposition, desired time to consider of it. This agitated his father. He had no conception that the subject of his solicitation required thought. He became immediately suspicious, and told his son, that he had only asked for time, that he might consult his friends, the Quakers. William assured his father that he would do no such thing; and having pledged his word to this effect, he left him, and retired to his own chamber.

It will be asked by some, what necessity there could be, in a matter apparently so trivial, to retire either for serious meditation

or for divine help? The answer can be furnished only by representing what were the notions of the Quakers on this subject at the time in question. I may observe then, that, when they were first gathered out of the world, they considered themselves as a select people, upon whom it devolved to bear their public testimony by abandoning all those fashions and customs belonging to it, which either corrupted or had a tendency to corrupt the mind. Among others they discarded what may be called the ceremonial use of the hat, such as the pulling it off on complimentary occasions. This they did in particular for the following reasons. First, they took it for granted that the use of the hat in the way described was either to show honour, respect, submission, or some similar feeling of the mind; but they contended, that, used as it then was, it was no more a criterion of these than mourning garments were criterions of sorrow. The custom therefore, in their opinion, led to repeated acts of insincerity. A show was held out of the mind's intention where no such intention existed. Now Christianity was never satisfied but with the truth. It forbad all false appearances.

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It allowed no action to be resorted to, that was not correspondent with the feelings of the heart. Secondly, in the case where the custom was intended to have a meaning, it was generally the sign of flattery. But no man could give way to flattery without degrading himself, and at the same time unduly exalting the person whom he distinguished by it. Hence they gave to the custom the name of Hat-worship, a name which it bears among them at the present day. Thirdly, it was the practice of their ministers, a practice enjoined by the apostle Paul, to uncover their heads, that is, to pull off their hats, both when they preached and prayed. But if they took off their hats as an outward act enjoined in the service of God, neither they nor their followers could with propriety take them off to men, because they would be thus giving to the creature the same outward honour which they gave to the Creator.

From this account it will be obvious, that the ceremonial use of the hat was considered by the early Quakers as more connected with the conscience than the Admiral had imagined it to be: and in this point of view it was considered by his son also; for he looked upon

upon the request of his father as neither more nor less than a call upon him to pull down one of the human barriers which he had but just erected in defence of his own virtue. This thought produced in him an awful feeling; for, if one of these barriers were destroyed, the citadel itself would be less safe. He conceived that if an inroad, however small, were once suffered to be made on principle, other inroads would become more easy. If the mind gave way but to one deviation from what was right, it would more easily give way to others; for, as in no instance it could do so without losing a portion of its virtue, so, this portion being lost, its powers of resistance would be weakened. Under this impression, conjoined with the circumstance of his father's application, he experienced a severe conflict. He loved his father, and respected him; yet he dared not do that which he conceived would obstruct his religious growth. He was sensible of the duty which he owed him as a parent; but he was equally sensible of a superior duty to God, to whom ultimately he was responsible. Yielding at length to these considerations, he found himself

himself compelled to inform his father, that he could not accede to his request. This he did with expressions of the greatest tenderness and affection, as well as of filial submission. The Admiral heard his answer; but could not bear it. Unable to gain the least concession from his son, and in a point where he judged it impossible that persons bred up as gentlemen could disagree, he gave way to his anger, and in the violence of the blast, which followed it, he once more turned him out of doors.

CHAPTER IV.

æt. 1668—becomes a minister of the Gospel—publishes "Truth exalted"—also "The Guide mistaken"—holds a public controversy with Vincent in the Presbyterian meeting-house—publishes "The Sandy Foundation shaken"—general contents of the same—is sent in consequence to the Tower—sends an answer from thence to the Bishop of London—writes there "No Cross no Crown"—particular contents and character of this work—substance of his letter to the Lord Arlington—writes "Innocency with her open Face"—is discharged from the Tower.

WILLIAM was now thrown upon the wide world. Having no independent fortune of his own, and having been brought up to no trade or profession, he had not the means of getting his livelihood like other people. This sudden change from affluence to poverty could not but at first have affected him: but the thought of having broken the peace of mind, however innocently, of so valuable a father, and of being apparently at variance with him, was that which occasioned him the most pain. He is said to have borne his situation with great resignation, deriving support from the belief, that they who left houses and parents for the kingdom

kingdom of God's sake, should eventually reap their reward. He began however to find, that even in this his temporal state he was not deserted. His mother kept up a communication with him privately, feeding him as well as she could from her own purse; and several kind friends administered also to his wants.

In 1668, being then twenty-four years of age, he came forth in the important character of a minister of the Gospel; having, as has been before stated, joined in membership with the religious society of the Quakers.

In this year he became an author also. His first work bore the following title: "Truth exalted, in a short but sure Testimony against all those Religions, Faiths, and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the Darkness of Apostasy, and for that glorious Light, which is now risen and shines forth in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation." This work, in which he thought it his duty to stand forth to the world as the champion of his own particular faith, was an address to kings, priests, and people, and to persons of various denomi-

denominations in religion; to the Catholics first, then to those of the Church of England, and lastly to the different Protestant Separatists. He exhorted them severally to examine the ground on which their faith and worship stood; to inquire how far these were built on divine authority, or only on the notions of men; and how far they were vitally supported, or dependent upon carnal forms. He put questions to all of them concerning their doctrine and practice; by which it was plain he conceived their religion to stand "not in the divine, but in the fallen or apostate nature; not in the broken, but in the stony heart." He then called their attention towards the faith and practice of the Quakers, by means of which he contended that the Truth, that is Christianity, was exalted; and that this was the only system of faith and practice which would radically redeem from human traditions, carnal ceremonies, and a persecuting spirit.

It is probable that some, judging from the title of this work, and from the substance of it as it has now been given, may accuse William Penn of no small share of

arrogance as the author of it. But these must be informed, that it was the belief of the early Quakers, that the system of religious doctrine and practice, which was introduced by George Fox, was really a new dispensation to restore Christianity to its primitive purity, and that they were to have the honour of being made the instruments of spreading it through the earth. This belief arose out of various considerations. In the first place, they who followed this system led a life of great self-denial. They abstained from the pleasures of the world, that they might avoid every thing that could contaminate their moral character. They discarded all customs which could bring their sobriety, chastity, and independence, into danger. They watched over their very words, and changed the very names of things, that they might always be found in the truth. They submitted to a discipline strict and severe, that they might be continued in the proper path. Friends of peace, they avoided, as far as was possible, all recourse to law, and they refused to bear arms against their fellow-creatures on any pretence whatever. Taking then into consideration this their system,

system, and comparing it with the practice of the world, it appeared to them like the renovation of the primitive Christian system upon earth. It approached also in their opinion, like the latter, the nearest to the letter and spirit of the new Covenant. When ushered into the world by them, it was followed, considering the severity of its discipline, by an almost miraculous proselytism. Priests, magistrates, and people left their religion in great numbers, many of the former giving up valuable livings, to support it. They too, who thus espoused it, were ready, like the apostles of old, to stamp the sincerity of their conversion by martyrdom. From these and other considerations, the early Quakers looked upon the system in question in the light now mentioned; and hence it was that they spoke with an authority which might have the appearance of arrogance with others.

Much about this time a person of the name of Jonathan Clapham published "A Guide to the True Religion." His object, as there stated, was to assist persons in making a proper choice of their faith. For this purpose he drew up a number of articles,

which he considered to compose the true Christian creed. Those who embraced other articles, he pronounced to be incapable of salvation, but particularly the Papists, Socinians, and Quakers; the last of whom he treated with the most severity. This publication happened to fall into the hands of William Penn. It set him as it were on fire, and he brought out almost immediately "The Guide mistaken." This book contained four chapters. In the first he attempted to confute the Guide's system of religion; in the second, he reprehended his aspersions; in the third, he laboured to detect his hypocrisy; and in the fourth, he compared his contradictions.

"The Guide mistaken" had not been out long, when a circumstance happened, which, as far as William Penn was concerned, led to a most disagreeable result, the particulars of which I must now explain. Two persons belonging to a Presbyterian congregation in Spital-Fields went one day to the meeting-house of the Quakers, merely to learn what their religious doctrines were. It happened that they were converted there. This news being carried to Thomas Vincent, their

their pastor, it so stirred him up, that he not only used his influence to prevent the converts in question from attending there again, but he decried the doctrines of the Quakers as damnable, and said many unhandsome things concerning them. This slander having gone abroad, William Penn, accompanied by George Whitehead, an eminent minister among the Quakers, who had already written twenty-nine pamphlets in their defence, went to Vincent, and demanded an opportunity of defending their principles publicly. This, after a good deal of demur, was agreed to. The Presbyterian meeting-house was fixed upon for this purpose, and the day and hour appointed also.

When the time came, the Quakers presented themselves at the door; but Vincent, to insure a majority on his side, had filled a great part of the meeting-house with his own hearers, so that there was but little room for them. Penn however and Whitehead, with a few others of the society, pushed their way in. They had scarcely done this, when they heard it proclaimed aloud, "that the Quakers held damnable doctrines." Immediately upon this Whitehead

head showed himself. He began, in answer to the charge, to explain aloud what the principles of the society really were; but here Vincent interrupted him, contending that it would be a better way of proceeding, for himself to examine the Quakers as to their own creed. He then put a proposal to this effect to the auditors. They agreed to it, and their voice was law.

Vincent, having carried his point, began by asking the Quakers, "Whether they owned one Godhead subsisting in three distinct and separate persons." Penn and his friend Whitehead, both asserted that this, delivered as it was by Vincent, was no scriptural doctrine. Vincent, in reply, formed a syllogism upon the words "There are three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," and deduced from them the doctrine of three separate subsistences and yet of but one Deity. Whitehead immediately rejected the term "subsistence," as no where to be found in the Scriptures, and demanded that their opponents should explain it, as God did not wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them

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in plain language. Upon this several attempted an explanation: but the sum of all their answers was, that subsistence meant either person or the mode of a substance. To these substitutes William Penn and Whitehead both objected. They urged many texts from Scripture in behalf of their objection; and having done this, they begged leave to ask Vincent one question in their turn, namely, "whether God was to be understood in an abstractive sense from his substance:" but the auditors pronounced this to be a point more fit for admiration than dispute.

It will not be necessary to detail the arguments brought forward in this controversy, in which much was said but nothing settled. It will be proper however to say something of the manner in which it was conducted, as well as of the result of it. While the debate was going on, great intemperance was betrayed on the part of several of the Presbyterians. They laughed, hissed, and stigmatized the Quakers by various opprobrious names, of which that of *Jesuit* was exclusively bestowed upon William Penn. On an answer which George Whitehead gave

gave to a question, the indignation of the audience increased, so that Vincent immediately went to prayer. In the course of his supplications he accused the Quakers of blasphemy; and having finished them, he desired his hearers to go home, and he withdrew himself at the same time from the pulpit. In this situation the Quakers knew not what to do. The congregation was leaving the meeting-house, and they had not yet been heard. Finding they would soon be left to themselves, some of them at length ventured to speak; but they were pulled down, and the candles (for the controversy had lasted till midnight) were put out. They were not however prevented by this usage from going on; for, rising up, they continued their defence in the dark, and, what was extraordinary, many staid to hear it. This brought Vincent among them with a candle. Addressing himself to the Quakers, he desired them to disperse. To this at length they consented, but only on the promise that another meeting should be granted them for the same purpose in the same place.

William Penn and George Whitehead, having

having waited many days, during which they could not make Vincent perform his promise, went to the meeting-house again. This happened on a lecture-day. They waited till the service was over, when they rose up, and begged that they might be permitted to resume their defence. Vincent, however, who had by this time left the pulpit, made the best of his way home; nor would any other of the congregation, though repeatedly called upon, supply his place, either to defend his conduct, or to argue the point in question.

William Penn, deprived now of an opportunity of defending the doctrine which had been the subject of so much warmth during the controversy, determined upon an appeal to the public. Accordingly he brought out "The Sandy Foundation shaken." He introduced it by a preface, in which he noticed the proceedings relative to Vincent as now mentioned, and observed upon the arguments then adduced. He then attempted to refute "The Notion of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate Persons;" also "The Notion of the Impossibility of God pardoning Sinners without a plenary

a plenary Satisfaction;" and "The Notion of the Justification of impure Persons by means of an imputative Righteousness." This he attempted to do by quotations from the Scriptures, by right reason, by an account of the time and origin of these doctrines, and by the consequences which must flow from them if admitted. This work, when it came out, gave great offence. It was then a high crime to defend publicly and openly, as in print, the Unity of God detached from his Trinitarian nature. Among the offended persons were some of the Prelates, of whom the Bishop of London was most conspicuous. These made it an affair of public animadversion by the Government; and the consequence was, that William Penn was soon afterwards apprehended, and sent as a prisoner to the Tower.

In this his new habitation he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept in close confinement, but no one of his friends was permitted to have access to him. A report was conveyed to him, to aggravate his sufferings, that the Bishop of London had resolved that he should either publicly recant, or die in prison. But his conduct

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was like that of all who suffer for conscience-sake. He was too sincere in his faith to be changed by such treatment. The law of force, the old State-argument in such cases, never conquered religious error. In his reply to the Bishop of London, instead of making any mean concession, he gave him in substance to understand, "that he would weary out the malice of his enemies by his patience; that great and good things were seldom obtained without loss and hardships; that the man, who would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; and that his prison should be his grave, before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man."

While he was in the Tower, he could not, consistently with his notions of duty, remain idle. To do good by preaching, while immured there, was impossible: he therefore applied himself to writing. His first effort ended in the production of "No Cross, No Crown;" a work which gave general satisfaction, and which in his own lifetime passed through several editions.

The design of this work seems to have arisen

arisen from the nature of his situation, combined with the view of doing good. He was then, as we have seen, a prisoner for conscience-sake. He was enduring hardships for the sake of his religion. He felt therefore the necessity of laying down and enforcing the great doctrine implied in the title of it, which was, that unless men are willing to lead a life of self-denial, and to undergo privations and hardships in the course of their Christian warfare, or unless they are willing to bear the Cross, that is, of Christ, they cannot become capable of wearing the Crown, that is, of eternal glory.

The work was divided into two parts, in the first of which he handled his subject thus. This great doctrine, he showed, had been disregarded by men, though essentially necessary to their salvation. Hence, they had degenerated from their primitive ancestors, the early converts to Christ. They had gone from purity to lust, from moderation to excess, and from love and charity to persecution.——By this their conduct they might see as in a mirror how foul their lapse was; yet mercy was to be found in repentance, through the propitiation of the blood

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of Jesus, and in bearing his cross, the glory of which had triumphed over the Heathen world.——The Cross, he said, was an expression borrowed from the wooden cross of Christ, on which he submitted to the will of God, who permitted him to suffer death at the hands of evil men. Hence, the cross mystical was that divine grace and power which crossed the carnal wills of men, and gave a contradiction to their corrupt affections, and which constantly opposed itself to the inordinate and fleshly appetite of their minds, and so might be justly termed the instrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God. This cross was to be borne within, that is, in the heart and soul; for the heart of man was the seat of sin. Where the man was defiled, there he must be sanctified; where sin lived, there it must die, there it must be crucified. The way in which it was to be borne was spiritual, that is, by an inward submission of the soul to the will of God, as it was manifested by the light of Christ in the consciences of men, though it was contrary to their own inclinations.——The great work and business of the

the cross was self-denial. Of this Christ was the great example; and as he denied himself, and offered himself up by the eternal Spirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life and the agonies of his death upon the cross for man's salvation, so men were to deny themselves, and to offer themselves up by the same Spirit to do or suffer the will of God for his service and glory. In self-denial there was a lawful and an unlawful self. The lawful self was connected with convenience, ease, enjoyment, plenty, which in themselves were so far from being evil, that they were God's bounty and blessings to us, as husband, wife, child, land, reputation, liberty, and life itself. These were God's favours, which we might enjoy with lawful pleasure, and justly improve as our lawful interest; but when he, the lender, required or called for them, we must part with them, however great the self-denial.——The unlawful self was connected, first, with religious worship; and, secondly, with moral conversation.——As it related to worship, it was to be seen in carnal, formal, pompous, and superstitious practices, in stately buildings, images, rich furniture

furniture and garments, rare voices and music, costly lamps, wax-candles, and perfumes, by which men made God a being sensual like themselves. This was such a cross as flesh and blood could bear, but not such an one by which flesh and blood could be crucified. Such external means could never remove internal causes.——True worship was only from an heart prepared by God's holy Spirit, without which the soul of man was dead, and incapable of glorifying him.——Unlawful self as it related to moral conversation, was to be seen in pride and other unlawful passions. Pride was the first capital lust of degenerate Christendom. It coveted inordinate knowledge. Such coveting had been productive of many evils.——It coveted inordinate power. By such coveting it had broken the peace both of private families and of nations.——It coveted inordinate honour and respect. By so doing, it had imposed degrading customs and fashions upon some. It had given false and flattering titles to others. But true honour and respect consisted not in observances like these.——By so doing it had introduced terms into speech, which were

were abhorrent from simplicity and truth. Such customs and fashions neither he nor his associates in religion, who were bound to deny the lusts of the flesh, could follow. ——Pride too led people to an excessive value of their persons. It sought distinction by decorations, the very cost of which would keep the poor; but it became the beautiful to endeavour to make their souls like their bodies. It made distinction by blood and family; but God made all out of one blood and one family; there was no true nobility but in virtue.——The proud man was a glutton upon himself; insolent and quarrelsome; cowardly and cruel; an ill child, servant, and subject, inhospitable, mischievous in power.——Avarice was the second capital lust. It had a desire of unlawful things. It had an unlawful desire of lawful things. It was treacherous and oppressive. It marked the false prophet, and was a reproach to religion.——Luxury was the third capital lust. This was a great enemy to the cross of Christ. It consisted in voluptuous or excessive diet, which injured both mind and body; in gorgeous or excessive apparel, to the loss of innocence; and in

in excess of recreations, contrary to the practice of the good men of old, whose chief recreation was to serve God and do good to mankind, and follow honest vocations. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, stately furniture, costly cookery, balls, masks, music-meetings, plays, and romances were not the many tribulations through which men were to enter the kingdom of God.—Against such things there were heavy denunciations. Man, having but few days, ought to spend his time better. Not only much good was omitted, but much evil committed, by a luxurious life.——Such luxuries ought not to be encouraged by Christians. They made no part of the cup which Christ drank, and therefore they did not constitute the cup which his disciples ought to drink. Against these, as well as against all customs and fashions which made up the attire and pleasure of the world, he protested, as enemies to inward retirement, and as borrowed from the Gentiles, who knew not God. It was said in their favour, that they afforded a livelihood to many: but we were not to do evil that good might come.——However convenient, yet if the use of them was prejudi-

cial in example, they ought to be done away. He concluded by an exhortation to temperance, and to self-denial with respect to the customs and fashions in question, as the true means of preparing the way to eternal rest.

These were, as concisely as I have been able to give them, the great heads of the first part or division of the work, which took up no less than eighteen chapters. But no just idea can be formed of the merits of it by so partial an account: for each chapter was a regular dissertation of itself on the subject it contained; in which, as opportunity offered, he explained the nature and origin of the evil complained of; in which he exhibited a picture of its effects; in which he contrasted this picture, with that which might have been drawn where there had been self-denial; in which he reasoned, drew his inferences, and gave his warnings, enforcing all he said by a copious appeal to history, apostolical usage, and holy writ. In those chapters where he touched upon the practices of the world, from which he and his own religious society had departed, he took occasion to defend their conduct in so doing; first, by exhibiting the reasons which they themselves

selves gave for it; and secondly, by maintaining its consistency both with the letter and the spirit of the Gospel. He considered too this their departure from such practices, by which they submitted to become singular and therefore more liable to ridicule, as that proper public declaration of their testimony against corruptive example, which was implied in the proper denial of self, or in the bearing of the cross of Christ.

The second part or division of the work consisted of a voluminous collection of the living and dying sayings of men eminent for their greatness, learning, or virtue, in divers periods of time, and in divers nations of the world.

First, he noticed the Greeks and Persians, making quotations concerning Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Agathocles, Philip, Alexander, Ptolomy, Xenophanes, Antigonus, Themistocles, Aristides, Pericles, Phocion, and twenty others.

Secondly, he gave anecdotes of the following persons among the Romans: of Cato, Scipio Africanus, Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Trajan. Adrian and eight others were also included in this account.

Thirdly, he appealed to the lives and doctrines of some of the Heathen philosophers both among the Greeks and the Romans; of Thales, Pythagoras, Solon, Chilon, Socrates, Plato, Quintilian, Seneca, and Epictetus. This appeal was of considerable length, as it contained biographical memoirs of no less than twenty-three philosophers of the same description, besides those just mentioned.

Fourthly, he quoted the accounts handed down to us of the conduct of virtuous Heathen women. He selected twelve for this purpose, among whom were Penelope, Lucretia, and Cornelia.

From the Heathen he went to Scripture history and that of the primitive Christians. He quoted sayings from Solomon, the doctrine of Christ as recorded by Matthew about denial of self, the example of John the Baptist, the testimonies of the apostle Peter, and the exhortation of Paul against pride, covetousness, and luxury. To this he added an account of the nonconformity of the primitive Christians to the world, sayings and observations by the Fathers of the church from Ignatius down to Augustine, quotations from

from canons and epistles, and the examples of some of the ancient Christian bishops.

Lastly, he gave an account of the lives and sayings of many of those who lived in more modern times: of Charles the Fifth, Michael de Montaigne, Cardinal Woolsey, Sir Philip Sidney, Secretary Walsingham, Sir John Mason, Sir Walter Rawleigh, and twenty-six others, among whom were Kings, Princes, Chancellors, Counts, Cardinals, and others, who had distinguished themselves in England, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, and other parts of the world.

His great object in making the above collection was to corroborate and enforce all that he had laid down in the first part or division of his work, namely, that a life of strict virtue, that is, to do well and to bear or suffer ill, was the way to everlasting happiness; or that, where there was no bearing of the cross of Christ, there would be no wearing of the crown of glory.

Such then were the contents of "No Cross, No Crown," as consisting of its two divisions, of which it may be truly said, that taking it altogether, it was a great work, and more especially when we consider the youth of

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Lastly, he gave an account of the lives and sayings of many of those who lived in more modern times: of Charles the Fifth, Michael de Montaigne, Cardinal Woolsey, Sir Philip Sidney, Secretary Walsingham, Sir John Mason, Sir Walter Rawleigh, and twenty-six others, among whom were Kings, Princes, Chancellors, Counts, Cardinals, and others, who had distinguished themselves in England, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, and other parts of the world.

His great object in making the above collection was to corroborate and enforce all that he had laid down in the first part or division of his work, namely, that a life of strict virtue, that is, to do well and to bear or suffer ill, was the way to everlasting happiness; or that, where there was no bearing of the cross of Christ, there would be no wearing of the crown of glory.

Such then were the contents of "No Cross, No Crown," as consisting of its two divisions, of which it may be truly said, that taking it altogether, it was a great work, and more especially when we consider the youth of

the

because he conceives that *more honour* will accrue to the Lord Arlington *by being just*, than advantage to himself as an individual by becoming personally free."

William Penn, notwithstanding this letter, continued still in prison; when understanding that "The Sandy Foundation shaken," which had occasioned such an outcry against him, had been misrepresented, he wrote, by way of apology for it, and to correct any misapprehension about it, a little tract, which, in allusion to the conscious rectitude of his own conduct and the undisguised manner in which he there explained himself, he called "Innocency with her open Face." In this new work he reviewed the three subjects which constituted the contents of the former. He argued, as before, against the notion of the impossibility of God pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction, which was one of them, and also against that of the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, which was another; and he appealed additionally to the high authority of Stillingfleet, in his late discourse about Christ's sufferings, against Crellius, in his favour. With respect

to

to the third notion, he maintained that he had been misunderstood. A conclusion had been drawn that, because he had denied one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons, he had denied the divinity of Christ. He cited, therefore, several passages from Scripture to prove that Christ was God. This doctrine, he asserted, was an article of his own faith; and, as a proof that it had been so, he desired those, who thought otherwise, to consult his "Guide mistaken," which he had published before "The Sandy Foundation shaken," and in which they would find that he had acknowledged both the divinity and eternity of Christ. His enemies, therefore, he said, had been beating the air and fighting with their own shadows in supposing what he himself had neither written nor even thought of. These were concisely the contents of his last work. When it came out, it is said to have given satisfaction. Some, however, of his enemies contended that he had disgraced himself by producing it; that he had read his own recantation in it; and that from a Socinian he had all at once become a defender of the Trinity. They, however, who asserted this, did not know

know that he rejected the latter doctrine, merely on account of the terms in which it had been wrapped up by Vincent; terms which, he said, were the inventions of men three hundred years after the Christian æra, and which were no where to be found in the Scriptures. In this respect, that is, as far as the doctrine comprehended three separate Persons in one God, he uniformly rejected it; but he never denied that of the Divinity of Christ, or of "a Father, Word, and Spirit."

Soon after the publication of "Innocency with her open Face," he was discharged from the Tower, after having been kept there on terms of unusual severity for seven months. His discharge came suddenly from the King, who had been moved to it by the intercession of his brother, the Duke of York. It is not known whether William Penn's father, the Admiral, applied to the Duke for this purpose, or whether the Duke out of compliment to the Admiral made a voluntary application of himself: certain however it is, that but for this interference he would have remained in prison.

CHAPTER V.

A. 1669—visits Thomas Loe on his death-bed—exhortation of the latter—is sent again to Ireland—writes a "Letter to the young convinced"—procures the discharge of several from prison—returns to England—is reconciled to his father.

THE first place in which we find William Penn after his liberation from the Tower, was at the bed-side of Thomas Loe, who was then on the eve of departing from the world. It cannot but be remembered that Thomas Loe was the person, who, while William Penn was at Oxford, confirmed the religious impressions he had received at Chigwell school. He was the person also who had given a bias to his mind, while in the city of Cork, by which he was disposed, at a time when looking out for some practical system of religion for himself, to fix upon that of the Quakers. Here then we see the master and the disciple brought together, and this at an awful crisis. It must have been a most gratifying circumstance to Thomas Loe, when he considered the imprisonment of William Penn, the undaunted manner

manner in which he had borne it, and the useful way in which he had spent his time while under it, (but particularly in the production of "No Cross, No Crown," in which work he inculcated, even when in bonds, that bonds were to be endured for religion's sake,) to find that one, who had received as it were his own baptism, had, when tried by the fire, come out of it like pure gold. And that these sentiments were then uppermost in the mind of the dying minister, there is no doubt; for, though the particulars of this interesting interview are not known, it is yet recorded that Thomas Loe, in taking his final leave of William, gave him the following exhortation: "Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way that shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore!"

It is now pleasing to relate that the Admiral, though he had discarded his son, began

began again to relent. He could not help thinking, however his son might have been mistaken, that at least he was sincere, or that his steady perseverance in the course he had taken, in spite of all persecution, was a proof of his integrity. He now allowed him to be at his own house, though he did not see him, and caused it to be signified to him through his mother, that he might return to Ireland, there to execute a commission for him.

William Penn was greatly cheered by this, though partial, gleam of returning love on the part of his father, and accordingly prepared for his journey. In the month of August he reached Cork. He entered immediately upon his father's business. In the intervals, however, of his leisure he attended to the concerns of his own religious society. He preached, as occasion offered, both at Cork and Dublin. He attended the national meeting of the Quakers in the latter city. He wrote also several little tracts to promote the religion he had espoused. Among these was his Letter "To the young convinced." He meant by the latter appellation such as had lately become converts to his

his own religious faith. He began by explaining to these, whom he considered to have been called out of the pleasures and vanities of the world, the nature of their new calling. He visited them, he said, as a traveller in the same path, in bowels of tenderness and compassion, to exhort them to make this their calling and election sure. For this purpose he invited them to hold meetings for worship frequently, to beware of all lightness, jesting, and a careless mind, and to endeavour as much as possible, both by their conversation and conduct, to keep in the simplicity of the cross of Christ. If the world was constant to its own momentary fashions, the more it became them to be constant in their testimony against it. If, however, in doing this they should meet with heavy exercises, they were not to murmur against God, but to give themselves up to his will. No external fear was to shake them: for that same Power, which had wrought a change in their hearts, was able to carry them through this their terrestrial trial.

But his great employment, during his leisure, was in visiting those of his poor brethren

brethren who were in prison on account of their religion, a case which he could well estimate by reflecting upon that which had been his own. He held religious meetings with these in their gaols, in which he endeavoured to comfort them to the utmost of his power. He drew up also an account of the cases of several, most of whom were then in confinement for no other reason than that they had been found worshiping in places which the law did not then recognise. This account, which was of the nature of an address, he presented to the Lord Lieutenant with his own hand; and he followed it up with such unremitting zeal, calling in the aid of his father, and of all those courtiers whom he could interest, that at length an order in council was obtained for their release.

Having executed his father's commission, he returned to England. On his arrival there a reconciliation took place, to the joy of all concerned, but particularly of his mother; after which he took up his residence in his father's house.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

A. 1670—*preaches in Gracechurch-street—is taken up and committed to Newgate—is tried at the Old Bailey and acquitted—account of this memorable trial—attends his father on his death-bed—dying sayings of the latter—publishes "The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted"—disputes publicly with Jeremy Ives at High Wycomb—writes to the Vice-chancellor of Oxford—publishes "A seasonable Caveat against Popery"—is again taken up for preaching, and sent to the Tower, and from thence to Newgate.*

In the year 1670 the famous Conventicle Act was passed by Parliament, which prohibited Dissenters from worshiping God in their own way. It had been first suggested by some of the bishops. The chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury had previously printed a discourse against toleration, in which he asserted as a main principle, that it would be less injurious to the Government *to dispense with profane and loose persons* than to allow a toleration to religious Dissenters. "This act," says Thomas Ellwood, "brake down and overran the bounds and banks anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties, and properties, namely, trials by jury, instead thereof directing

directing and authorizing justices of the peace (and that too privately out of sessions) to convict, fine, and by their warrants distrain upon offenders against it, *directly contrary to the Great Charter.*" It was impossible that an act like this could pass without becoming a source of new suffering to William Penn, situated as he then was, first, as a minister of the Gospel, and secondly, as a man who always dared to do what he thought to be his duty. Accordingly he was one of the earliest victims to its decrees: for, going as usual with others of his own religious society to their meeting-house in Grace-church-street to perform divine worship, they found it guarded by a band of soldiers. Being thus hindered from entering it, they stopped for a while about the doors. Others who came up joined the former, and stopped also, so that in a little time there was a considerable assembly on the spot. By this time William Penn felt himself called upon to preach; but he had not advanced far in his discourse, when he and another of the society, William Mead, were seized by constables, who produced warrants signed by Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor,

for that purpose. The whole plan of the arrest had been previously concerted, and the warrants contrived accordingly. The constables, after they had seized them, conveyed them to Newgate, where they were lodged, that they might be ready to take their trial at the next session at the Old Bailey.

On the first of September the trial came on; and here I have to express my regret that the limits which I have proposed to this work should prevent me from presenting it at full length to the notice of the reader, because altogether it is a very interesting event in our history, and one of which no part that is recorded, ought to be lost to posterity. I will, however, give, as far as I am able, the most prominent features in it.

The persons who were present on the bench as Justices on this day, were Sir Samuel Starling, lord mayor; John Howel, recorder; Thomas Bludworth, William Peak, Richard Ford, John Robinson, Joseph Shelden, aldermen; and Richard Brown, John Smith, and James Edwards, sheriffs.

The Jury, who were impanelled, and whose names ought to be handed down to the

the love and gratitude of posterity, were Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, William Plumstead, Henry Henley, James Damask, Henry Michel, William Lever, and John Baily.

The indictment stated among other falsehoods, that the prisoners had preached to an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly; that they had assembled by agreement made beforehand; and that they had met together with force and arms, and this to the great terror and disturbance of many of His Majesty's liege-subjects.

Very little was done on this day. The prisoners were brought to the bar; and having made their observations on several things as they passed, they pleaded Not guilty to the indictment. The Court was then adjourned. In the afternoon they were brought to the bar again; but they were afterwards set aside, being made to wait till after the trial of other prisoners.

On the third of September, the trial of those last mentioned being over, William Penn and William Mead were brought again into court. One of the officers, as they

entered, pulled off their hats. Upon this the Lord Mayor became furious, and in a stern voice ordered him to put them on again. This being done, the Recorder fined each of the prisoners forty marks, observing that the circumstance of being covered there amounted to a contempt of Court.

The witnesses were then called in and examined. It appeared from their testimony, that on the fifteenth of August between three and four hundred persons were assembled in Gracechurch-street, and that they saw William Penn speaking to the people, but could not distinguish what he said. One, and one only, swore that he heard him preach; but on further examination he said, that he could not, on account of the noise, understand any one of the words spoken. With respect to William Mead, it was proved that he was there also, and that he was heard to say something; but nobody could tell what. This was in substance the whole of the evidence against them.

The witnesses having finished their testimony, William Penn acknowledged that both he and his friend were present at the place and time mentioned. Their object in

in being there was to worship God. "We are so far (says he) from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God, who made us." These words were scarcely pronounced, when Brown, one of the sheriffs, exclaimed, that he was not there for worshiping God, but for breaking the law. William Penn replied, that he had broken no law, and desired to know by what law it was that they prosecuted him, and upon what law it was that they founded the indictment. The Recorder replied, The common law. William asked, where that law was. The Recorder did not think it worth while, he said, to run over all those adjudged cases for so many years, which they called common law, to satisfy his curiosity. William Penn thought, if the law were common, it should not be so hard to produce. He was then desired to plead to the indictment; but on delivering his sentiments

ments on this point, he was pronounced a saucy fellow. The following is a specimen of some of the questions and answers at full length, which succeeded those now mentioned:

Recorder.—The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment.

W. Penn.—The question is not, whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer to say it is the common law, unless we know where and what it is; for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Recorder.—You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the Court what law is? It is *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?

W. Penn.—Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common; but if the Lord Coke in his Institutes be of any consideration,

deration, he tells us, that common law is common right, and that common right is the Great Charter privileges confirmed.

Recorder.—Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not to the honour of the Court to suffer you to go on.

W. Penn.—I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman are concerned in it.

Recorder.—If I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

W. Penn.—That is according as the answers are.

Recorder.—Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

W. Penn.—I design no affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you say I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your arbitrary designs.

Recorder.

Recorder.—Take him away. My Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night.

Mayor.—Take him away. Take him away. Turn him into the bale-dock.

W. Penn.—These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice or true judgement? Must I therefore be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon the consciences of you, who are of the Jury, and my sole Judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and which are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are to be openly invaded; our wives to be ravished; our children slaved; our families ruined; and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer; as their trophies, but our (pretended) forfeits for conscience-

science-sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be Judge between us in this matter.

Recorder.—Be silent there.

W. Penn.—I am not to be silent in a case where I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.

Soon after this they hurried him away, as well as William Mead, who spoke also, towards the bale-dock, a filthy, loathsome dungeon. The Recorder then proceeded to charge the Jury. But William Penn, hearing a part of the charge as he was retiring, stopped suddenly, and, raising his voice, exclaimed aloud, "I appeal to the Jury, who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the Court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in endeavouring to give the Jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke on the chapter of Magna Charta speaks." Upon this some conversation passed between the parties, who were still distant from each other;

other; after which the two prisoners were forced to their loathsome cells.

Being now out of all hearing, the Jury were ordered to agree upon their verdict. Four, who appeared visibly to favour the prisoners, were abused and actually threatened by the Recorder. They were then, all of them, sent out of Court. On being brought in again they delivered their verdict unanimously, which was, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street."

The Magistrates upon the bench now loaded the Jury with reproaches. They refused to take their verdict, and immediately adjourned the Court, sending them away for half an hour to reconsider it.

The time having expired, the Court sat again. The prisoners were then brought to the bar, and the Jury again called in. The latter having taken their place, delivered the same verdict as before, but with this difference, that they then delivered it in writing with the signature of all their names.

The Magistrates were now more than ever enraged at the conduct of the Jury, and they did not hesitate to express their indignation

nation at it in terms the most opprobrious in open court. The Recorder than addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict such as the Court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco: you shall not think thus to abuse the Court: we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it."

William Penn, upon hearing this address, immediately spoke as follows: "My Jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced: their verdict should be free, and not compelled: the Bench ought to wait upon them, and not to forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the Bench may not be made the measure of my Jury's verdict."

Other words passed between them; after which the Court was about to adjourn, and the Jury to be sent to their chamber, and the prisoners to their loathsome hole, when William Penn observed, that the agreement of twelve men was a verdict in law; and such a verdict having been given by the Jury, he required the Clerk of the Peace to record

record it, as he would answer it at his peril: and if the Jury brought in another verdict contrary to this, he affirmed, that they would be perjured in law. Then, turning to the Jury, he said additionally, "You are Englishmen. Mind your privilege. Give not away your right."

One of the Jury now pleaded indisposition, and desired to be dismissed. This request, however, was not granted. The Court on the other hand swore several persons to keep the Jury all night without meat, drink, fire, tobacco, or any other accommodation whatsoever, and then adjourned till seven the next morning.

The next morning, which was September the fourth, happened to be Sunday. The Jury were again called in, but they returned the same verdict as before. The Bench now became outrageous, and indulged in the most vulgar and brutal language, such indeed as would be almost incredible if it were not upon record. The Jury were again charged, and again sent out of court: again they returned: again they delivered the same verdict: again they were threatened. William Penn having spoken against the injustice

tice of the Court in having menaced the Jury, who were his judges by the Great Charter of England, and in having rejected their verdict, the Lord Mayor exclaimed, "Stop his mouth, jailor, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground." William Penn replied, "Do your pleasure, I matter not your fetters." The Recorder observed, "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." Upon this the Jury were ordered to withdraw to find another verdict: but they refused, saying, they had already given it, and that they could find no other. The Sheriff then forced them away. Several persons were immediately sworn to keep them without any accommodation as before, and the Court adjourned till seven the next morning.

On the fifth of September the Jury, who had received no refreshment for two days and two nights, were again called in, and the business resumed. The Court demanded a positive answer to these words, "Guilty or Not guilty?" The Foreman of the Jury replied

replied "Not guilty." Every juryman was then required to repeat this answer separately. This he did to the satisfaction of almost all in court. The following address and conversation then passed.

Recorder.—"Gentlemen of the Jury, I am sorry you have followed your own judgements rather than the good advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands! But for this the Court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid."

W. Penn.—"I demand my liberty, being freed by the Jury."

Mayor.—"No. You are in for your fines."

W. Penn.—"Fines for what?"

Mayor.—"For contempt of Court."

W. Penn.—"I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced but by the judgement of his peers or jury, since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapters of the Great Charter of England, which says, "No freeman shall be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."

Recorder.—"Take him away."

W. Penn.

W. Penn.—"I can never urge the fundamental laws of England but you cry Take him away; but it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition has so great a place in the Recorder's heart. God, who is just, will judge you for all these things."

These words were no sooner uttered than William Penn and his friend, William Mead, were forced into the bale-dock, from whence they were sent to Newgate. Every one of the Jury also were sent to the latter prison. The plea for this barbarous usage was, that both the prisoners and the Jury refused to pay the fine of forty marks which had been put upon each of them; upon the former, because one of the Mayor's officers had put their hats upon their heads by his own command; and upon the latter, because they would not bring in a verdict, contrary to their own consciences, in compliance with the wishes of the Bench.

Thus ended this famous trial, through which, as sustained by William Penn with so much ability at the age of twenty-five, I have conducted the reader by as short a path as I well could, considering its vast importance; a trial, by which we see the assertion proved,

proved, that the noble *institution of juries* is the *grand palladium of our liberties*; a trial, which *for the good it has done to posterity* ought to be engraved on tablets of the most durable marble; for it was one of those events, which in conjunction with others of a similar sort, by showing the *inadequacy of punishment for religion to its supposed end*, not only corrected and improved the notions of succeeding ages in this respect, but by so doing lessened the ravages of persecution, and the enmity between man and man. Nor ought posterity to be less grateful for it as a monument of the ferocity and corrupt usages of former times; for, contrasting these with the notions and customs of our own age, we behold that which we ought to contemplate, of all other things, with the greatest gratitude and delight, namely, the improvement of our social and moral being. In those times of bigotry the world seemed to be little better than a state of warfare between man and man; a state of warfare between man and his government; and this merely because the one differed from the other in those matters, of which God only was the proper and lawful judge. But now happily the case is altered. We behold indeed

indeed the fabric of the tower yet remaining. We see Newgate with its renovated walls upon the same spot. But we know these no longer as the receptacles of innocent individuals suffering for conscience sake. We have our courts of law remaining; but we see an order, a decorum, and an improvement in the administration of justice unknown at the period of this memorable trial. Nor will the prospect be less grateful, if we quit the present for a moment and direct our eyes to the future. We have the best reason to hope, on contemplating the signs of the times*, that the day is rapidly approaching, when the Christian religion, which is capable of cementing men in the strongest possible union and for the noblest purposes, will be no longer the cause either of unnecessary division or of unmerited suffering.

William Penn and William Mead, though acquitted by the Jury, continued in Newgate.

* I allude to the voluntary repeal on the part of Government, last year, of this very Conventicle Act, and of the Five Miles Act; also to an extension of privilege to Dissenters; and particularly to those most noble institutions "The British and Foreign Auxiliary Bible-Societies," the business of which is conducted by an equal number of Churchmen and Dissenters acting harmoniously together.

They could not conscientiously pay the fines which had been imposed upon them; and until these were paid they could not obtain their discharge. The Admiral being informed of this, and being particularly anxious to see his son, sent the money privately, and thus procured the liberation of both of them. As to the poor Jurymen, who had been fined at the same time, I can no where learn what became of them, or how long they were allowed to languish in their prison.

The Admiral had been now long ill, and for some time confined to his chamber. His constitution in consequence of hard service, change of climate, and anxiety of mind, though he was not then fifty years of age, had begun to break, and this so rapidly as to create in him an expectation of his approaching end. He wanted therefore the conversation, kind offices, and consolation of his son. He had now a great regard for him. He had always indeed set a due value on the goodness of his heart, and on his exemplary moral conduct, though he had differed from him on the score of religion; but when he saw a person of such qualities and character seized, imprisoned, and punished,

nished, he considered his treatment in no other light than that of oppression, and therefore clave to him more than ever. Besides, having no hope of his own recovery, he wished to confer with him as to the settlement of his family affairs.

The more he saw of his son during his confinement, the more he esteemed him; and the worse he grew in body, the more he became interested about his temporal welfare. He was sensible, while his religious turn and resolution, and while the existing laws of the country remained, that he would have many trials and much suffering to undergo. Impressed with this notion, he sent one of his friends to the Duke of York to desire of him, as a death-bed request, that he would endeavour to protect his son as far as he consistently could, and to ask the King to do the same, in cases of future persecution. The answer was gratifying, both of them promising their services on a fit occasion.

After this he grew worse. At a time of serious reflection, and not long before his death, he spoke thus: "Son William, I am weary of the world! I would not live over my days again, if I could command them

with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God. The thought of this has followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin! It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you. First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience. I charge you, do nothing against your conscience; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably; for that gives security and dispatch. Thirdly, be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it: if they cannot, trouble is then vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

At another time he addressed his son in terms of complaint against the great profaneness and impiety of the age. He lamented

that

that many of the nobility, and those in other respectable stations in life, should be so dissolute in their morals, and afford so grievous an example. He expressed his fear, too, lest his country, thus overwhelmed with corruption, should sink to ruin.

He seemed to be never less concerned and disordered than just before he died Looking at his son with the most composed countenance, he said, "Son William! if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world—Bury me by my mother—Live all in love—Shun all manner of evil—and I pray God to bless you all; and he will bless you all."—Soon afterwards he expired.

These were some of the last expressions of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn. They are very important, on account of the instruction they give us, as well as of the light they throw upon his character. With respect to life, indeed, they afford us an important lesson. They furnish a proof, that even where a man has been glutted with the honours of the world, it is so full of snares, and subject

to

to so many drawbacks, that it is not worth living over again. They lay open to us, again, the true path to be pursued in our passage through it. The Admiral at length found, though he had been twice so grievously displeased with his son, that nothing could make a man amends for wronging his own conscience. With respect to his character, they show him to have had a mind ingenuous and open to conviction; for we see that the religious prejudices which he had imbibed in his youth had been succeeded by candour. They show him to have been a well-disposed man; or that, however unwarrantable his conduct was to his son on certain occasions, it was to be set down rather to sudden warmth of feeling, or to a temper suddenly irritable by untoward circumstances, than to any badness of heart. And here it ought to be recollected, that he had been brought up as a naval officer, and accustomed to undisputed command, to a profession, where orders are no sooner issued than obedience is required, and slowness to execute is punished. Neither must it be forgotten, how grievous his disappointment must have been as a parent on these occasions.

sions. At the time alluded to he was in an exalted situation; he had great interest at Court; and he had probably notions of life and manners very different from those which we have seen him entertain in his dying hour. He had figured out to himself large prospects for his son. He could not but have had hopes of him from his education and his genius. He had seen him endued with talents sufficient to enable him to fill even the higher offices of State. How heart-breaking then must it have been, in such a situation, to see all his prospects at once broken; to see his son mixing with the lowly, the humble-minded, nay, the reputed dregs of the earth; to see him uniting with a society whose very dress and manners, compared with his own and those of the circles with which he mixed, must have been repulsive; and to see him leave the Established Church, the church of his family, and take up the opinions of those who were considered little better than fanatics!

William Penn, in consequence of the death of his father, came into the possession of a very handsome estate, supposed to be worth at that time not less than fifteen hundred pounds

pounds per annum; so that he became, in point of circumstances, not only an independent but a rich man.

One of his first employments, indeed immediate one, after his father's death, was to give to the world, for the benefit of posterity, an account of his late trial. He entitled it "The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted, in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey in London, on the first, third, fourth, and fifth of September 1670, against the most arbitrary Procedure of that Court." He detailed, first, the proceedings of the Court on those days. He gave, secondly, "An Appendix, by way of Defence for the Prisoners, or what might have been offered against the Indictment and illegal Proceedings of the Court thereon, had it not violently over-ruled and stopped them." He entered, thirdly, into "A Rehearsal of the material Articles of the Great Charter of England," and "A Confirmation of the Charters and Liberties of England and of the Forest by Edward the First." He then introduced "The Curse and Sentence issued by the Bishops and Clergy against the Breakers of

of these Articles," the latter of which he explained both historically and argumentatively, so that they who read it might have a clearer knowledge of their own privileges and rights. He concluded, for their further information, by a Postscript, containing "A Copy of Judge Keeling's Case, as taken out of the Parliament Journal, dated the eleventh of December 1667."

Not long after the publication of this trial a circumstance took place, which brought him before the public again. A Baptist preacher at High Wycomb in Buckinghamshire, of the name of Ives, had reflected in his own meeting-house in the pulpit, not only upon the Quakers in general, but upon William Penn in particular. This coming to the ears of the latter, he insisted upon it, and it was at length finally agreed, that a meeting should be held at West Wycomb between the parties concerned, where the obnoxious parts of the Quakers' doctrines should become matter of public dispute: he himself was to be the disputant in behalf of his own society, and Jeremy Ives on the part of the Baptists. Jeremy, however, was not the person, but the brother of the person, who

who had made the reflections above alluded to, the offender himself being thought unequal to the controversy.

The position to be maintained on the part of the Quakers was the universality of the divine Light. The Baptists were to speak against it. According to the laws of dispute then in force upon such occasions, it devolved upon Jeremy to speak first. He began accordingly, and went on boldly till he had expended all the arguments he had brought with him; when finding from appearances that his auditors were not as well satisfied as he expected, he stepped down suddenly from his seat, and left the place. In doing this, he indulged a hope that his example would have been generally followed. But he was sorely disappointed; for a small number only, who were immediately of his own party, withdrew, while the great bulk of the audience remained. To these William Penn then addressed himself. In what he advanced he experienced neither interruption nor opposition. So far he may be said to have triumphed. But he triumphed in another respect; for Jeremy, when he found that his hearers continued in their places, was

was so mortified, that he returned, and injudiciously expressed his disapprobation of their conduct; the consequence of which was, that they in their turn expressed their dislike of him. At this controversy Thomas Ellwood, one of the early Quakers, and a pupil of the great John Milton, was present, who sent an account of it to a friend in these lines, written extempore on the spot:

"Prævaluit Veritas: inimici terga dedere:
Nos sumus in tuto: laus tribuenda Deo."

The literal translation of this, which I have attempted in bad poetry, is the following:

"Truth has prevail'd: the foe his back has shown:
Thank God! we're safe: the praise is his alone."

William Penn soon after this controversy took a short journey, in the course of which it happened that he stopped at Oxford. Learning there that several of the members of his own society had been treated with great cruelty by the students on account of their religious meetings, and having reason to believe that the Vice-Chancellor himself was not blameless in that respect, he addressed to him a letter, of which I copy for its singularity the introductory sentence:

"Shall

"Shall the multiplied oppressions, which thou continuest to heap upon innocent English people for their peaceable religious meetings, pass unregarded by the eternal God? Dost thou think to escape his fierce wrath and dreadful vengeance for thy ungodly and illegal persecution of his poor children? I tell thee, No. Better were it for thee thou hadst never been born. Poor mushroom, wilt thou war against the Lord, and lift up thyself in battle against the Almighty? Canst thou frustrate his holy purposes, and bring his determinations to nought? He has decreed to exalt himself by us, and to propagate his Gospel to the ends of the earth."

Never perhaps before were the learning and dignity of a Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, as appears by this extract, so little thought of, or a Vice-Chancellor of that university looked down upon with such sovereign contempt, as on this occasion by William Penn. To most people, the language of this letter will be unaccountable. It must be remarked, however, that the early Quakers paid but little deference to human learning,

learning, and that at this very time they were at variance with the Universities concerning it, denying it to be an essential qualification for the priesthood. It must be remarked also, that honouring those ordinations of men, and those only, to the sacerdotal office, which were considered to be sealed in their hearts by the Divine Spirit, they allowed no dignity to belong to ordinations which were the mere work of the hands of men. We must remember also, what has been before noticed, their belief that they had a divine commission, in consequence of which, by preaching and bearing their testimony against religious ceremonies and worldly fashions, they were to become instruments in purifying the rest of mankind. Hence they spoke with an authority not usual with others. To these considerations we must add, that the treatment which the poor Quakers had then received at Oxford, was enough to excite anger in any feeling mind, and that William Penn himself was still sore, if I may so speak, of his old wounds; for it was but a few weeks since he had left the bale-dock of Newgate prison, the loathsomeness of which he had experienced

experienced in consequence of the unjust interference of some formerly belonging to this very university, and who were then at the head of the Established Church.

Having finished his journey, he retired to the ancient family seat of Penn in Buckinghamshire. Here a pamphlet falling in his way, which contained the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith, he wrote in answer to it, "A seasonable Caveat against Popery; or, An Explanation of the Roman Catholic Belief briefly examined." He attempted in this work to refute certain doctrines of the church of Rome, namely, such as related to the Scriptures—the Trinity—prayers to saints and angels—justification of merits—the holy Eucharist—communion in one kind—the sacrifice of the altar—prayer in Latin—prayer for the dead—the moral law of obedience to civil magistrates—and ecclesiastical hierarchy. It must be observed, however, that though he was severe against the Catholics as to their doctrine on these points, he was *a decided enemy to all persecution of them on that account*. He allowed in his preface to this work, that a great number of them might be abused zealots through the

the idle voluminous traditions of their church, whom he *rather pitied* than *dared to wrong*; and that, in giving this his seasonable caveat to the public, nothing was further from his intention than to incense the civil magistrate against them; for he professed himself *a friend to universal toleration of faith and worship*, so that he would have had *such toleration extended even to them, provided they would give security that they would not persecute others on the same score.*

About the latter end of the year he returned to London, when an occurrence, which shortly after happened, subjected him to new suffering; for preaching at a meeting-house belonging to the Quakers in Wheeler-street, a serjeant with a military guard, which had been posted near the door on purpose, pulled him down from his place, and forced him into the street. Here a constable and his assistant, who were ready also, joined the soldiers, and these conducted him to the Tower. He had not been there long, when he was brought before Sir John Robinson, then lieutenant of the same, (by whose order he had been apprehended,) to be examined. This was the same John Robinson,

binson, who has been before mentioned as sitting upon the bench as a magistrate during the late memorable trial at the Old Bailey There were present on this occassion Sir Samuel Starling, another of his old persecutors, Sir John Shelden, Colonel Ricraft, and others. The constable and his assistant were then sworn They deposed that William Penn, the prisoner, was at a meeting in Wheeler-street, speaking to the people, but they would not swear, to an unlawful assembly. Their refusal to do this very much mortified Sir John Robinson, for he had relied upon the Conventicle Act for his conviction. Being obliged to give this up, he fled to the Oxford Act; but William Penn showed clearly, that neither did he come under this act, nor had he transgressed any written law. This defence of himself in the presence of so many persons, by which it appeared that he could not be legally detained in custody, so chagrined Robinson, that, when he found he could not punish him on one account, he resolved to do it on another. Determining not to be overcome in the end, he offered him, as the old custom was in those days when a magistrate was unable to convict

convict a Quaker on the ground of his apprehension, the oath of allegiance, knowing beforehand that he could not take it consistently with his religious scruples, and yet that a refusal to take it, when legally offered, was imprisonment by law. He knew also that the very oath, which he thus offered him, was unnecessary; for, if the Quakers could not conscientiously take up arms against the enemies of their country, much less could they take them up against their King. William Penn accordingly refused to take it, giving his reasons at the same time for so doing. But no reasoning could avail with Robinson. He still pressed the oath. William Penn still rejected it. The following are some of the questions and answers which were then put and given.

Sir J. Robinson.—Do you yet refuse to swear?

W. Penn.—Yes, and that upon better grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me swear, if thou wilt please to hear me.

Sir J. Robinson.—I am sorry you should put me upon this severity: it is no pleasant work to me.

W. Penn.—These are but words: it is manifest that this is a prepense malice; thou hast several times laid the meetings for me, and this day particularly.

Sir J. Robinson.—No. I profess I could not tell you would be there.

W. Penn.—Thine own corporal told me you had intelligence at the Tower, that I would be at Wheeler-street to-day, almost as soon as I knew it myself. It is disingenuous and partial. I never gave thee occasion for such unkindness.

Sir J. Robinson.—I knew no such thing; but if I had, I confess I should have sent for you.

W. Penn.—That might have been spared; I do heartily believe it.

Sir J. Robinson.—I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you: you are an ingenious gentleman; all the world must allow you and do allow you that: and you have a plentiful estate: why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?

W. Penn.—I confess I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of those

those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple.

Sir J. Robinson.—I wish you wiser.

W. Penn.—And I wish thee better.

Sir J. Robinson.—You have been as bad as other folks.

W. Penn.—When and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face.

Sir J. Robinson.—Abroad and at home too.

Upon this Sir John Shelden, hurt at the reflection cast upon the character of William Penn, interfered, crying out "No, no, Sir John, that's too much." William Penn also upon hearing it was set as it were on fire. Conscious that he had endeavoured from early youth to lead a life of purity, he could no longer contain himself, but broke out at once into this impassioned appeal: "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child begot

an hatred in me towards them. But there it nothing more common, than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, that these were once as they themselves are; and as if there were no collateral or oblique line of the compass or globe, from which men might be said to come to the arctic pole, but directly and immediately from the antarctic. Thy words shall be thy burthen, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

After this the conversation was renewed for some time, when Sir John Robinson informed him, that he must send him to Newgate for six months, and that, when these were expired, he might come out. To this William Penn immediately replied, "And is that all? Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest! This is not the way to compass your ends. I would have thee and all men know, that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it. Thy religion

persecutes,

persecutes, and mine forgives. I desire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation."

Directly after this he was escorted by a corporal and a file of musqueteers to Newgate, there to expiate by a six months imprisonment the crime of having refused to take the oath which had been offered him.

CHAPTER VII.

A. 1671—*writes, while in Newgate, to The High Court of Parliament—to the Sheriffs of London—to a Roman Catholic—publishes "A cautionary Postscript to Truth exalted"—"Truth rescued from Imposture"—"A serious Apology for the Principles and Practice of the Quakers"—"The great Case of Liberty of Conscience debated and defended"—general contents of the latter—comes out of prison—travels into Holland and Germany.*

WHILE he was in Newgate, he had ample employment for his pen. Understanding that Parliament was about to take measures to enforce the Conventicle Act with still greater severity, he addressed a paper to that body in behalf of himself and friends, in which he stated in substance, that though the Quakers could not comply with those laws which prohibited them from worshiping God according to their consciences, it being the prerogative of Him alone to preside in all matters of religious faith; yet they owned civil government as God's ordinance, and were ready to yield obedience to it in all temporal matters, and this for conscience sake; that they renounced all plots and

and conspiracies, as horrible impiety; and that, as they had conducted themselves patiently and peaceably under all the changes of the government that had taken place since their first appearance as a society, so it was their determination to continue in the same path. He concluded by expressing a hope, that Parliament, before it proceeded to extremities, would give them a free hearing, as it had done upon the first Act for uniformity, and that, upon a better knowledge of them as a people, it would remove their hard burthens.

He wrote two letters about the same time; one to the Sheriffs of London, calling their attention to the keeper of Newgate prison, who had been abusive to some of the society, then in confinement there, on account of their religion; and another to a Roman Catholic, who, having been offended with his "Seasonable Caveat against Popery," had replied to him with considerable warmth.

He wrote and published also during his confinement the four following works:—"A cautionary Postscript to Truth exalted."—"Truth rescued from Imposture; or, A Brief Reply to a mere Rhapsody of Lyes, Folly,

Folly, and Slander, but a pretended Answer to the Trial of William Penn and William Mead."—" A serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers, against the malicious Aspersions, erroneous Doctrines, and horrid Blasphemies of Thomas Jenner and Timothy Tayler, two Presbyterian Preachers, in their Book entitled Quakerism Anatomized."—" The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience once more briefly debated and defended by the Authority of Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity."—Of the first three I shall make no further mention; but with respect to the fourth, considering the vast importance of the subject, I should feel myself culpable if I were not to say a few words concerning its contents.

In the first place I may observe of this book, that it was written upon the same ground as the paper which we have just seen him address to the Parliament; namely, because the said Parliament were then going to bring in a new bill, or one more severe than the former, against those who dissented from the Established Church. It began with an address to " The Supreme Authority of

of England," of which the following is a copy:

"*Toleration* for these ten years past has not been more the cry of some, than *Persecution* has been the practice of others, though not on *grounds equally rational.*

"The present cause of this address is to solicit a conversion of that power to our relief, which hitherto has been employed to our depression; that after this large experience of our innocency and long since expired apprenticeship of cruel sufferings you will be pleased to cancel all our bonds, and give us a possession of those freedoms to which we are *entitled by English birth-right.*

"This has been often promised to us, and we as earnestly have expected the performance; but to this time we labour under the unspeakable pressure of nasty prisons, and daily confiscation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of entire families.

"We would not attribute the whole of this severity to malice, since not a little share may justly be ascribed to misintelligence.

"For 'tis the infelicity of governours to see and hear by the eyes and ears of other men;

men; which is equally unhappy for the people.

" And we are bold to say, that suppositions and mere conjectures have been the best measures that most have taken of us and of our principles; for, whilst there have been none more inoffensive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

" 'Tis hard that we should always lie under this undeserved imputation, and, which is worse, be persecuted as such without the liberty of a just defence.

" In short, if you are apprehensive that our principles are inconsistent with the civil government, grant us a free conference about the points in question, and let us know what are those laws essential to preservation that our opinions carry an opposition to: and if, upon a due inquiry, we are found so heterodox as represented, it will be then but time enough to inflict these heavy penalties upon us.

" And as this medium seems the fairest and most reasonable, so can you never do yourselves greater justice either in the vindication of your proceedings against us, if we be criminal, or, if innocent, in disengaging

gaging your service of such as have been the authors of so much misinformation.

" But could we once obtain the favour of such debate, we doubt not to evince a clear consistency of our life and doctrine with the English Government; and that an indulging of Dissenters in the sense defended is not only most christian and rational, but prudent also; and the contrary, however plausibly insinuated, the most injurious to the peace, and destructive of that discreet balance, which the best and wisest states have ever carefully observed.

" But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you on which to rest its foot, much less that it should bring us back the olive-branch of *Toleration*, we heartily embrace and bless the Providence of God, and in his strength resolve by patience to outweary persecution, and by our constant sufferings seek to obtain a victory more glorious than any our adversaries can achieve by all their cruelties."

This excellent address was followed by a preface. He began the latter by observing, that, if the friends of persecution were men of as much reason as they counted themselves

selves to be, it would be unnecessary for him to inform them, that no *external coercive power could convince the understanding, neither could fines and imprisonments* be judged *fit and adequate penalties* for *faults purely intellectual.* He maintained the folly of coercive measures on such occasions on another account; for the enaction of such laws as restrained persons from the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion was but the *knotting of whipcord* on the part of the enactors *to lash their own posterity, whom they could never promise to be conformed for ages to come to a national religion.* He then defined liberty of conscience to be "the free and uninterrupted exercise of our consciences in that way of worship we were most clearly persuaded God required of us to serve him in, without endangering our undoubted birthright of English freedoms, which being matter of faith we sinned if we omitted, and they could not do less who should endeavour it." After this he showed how this liberty of conscience had been invaded by the plundering and oppressing of those who had used it; and concluded by pronouncing that, if such desolation were allowed to continue,

continue, the state must inevitably proceed to its own decay.

Having finished the preface, he went to the body of the work, which consisted of six chapters. But here I find it impossible for want of room to detail the contents of these. The reader therefore must be satisfied with the following account. He coincided, he said, with many, in considering the union (for the oppressive bill in question) "to be very ominous and unhappy, which made the first discovery of itself by a John Baptist's head in a charger, by a feast to be made upon the liberties and properties of free-born Englishmen; for to cut off the entail of their undoubted hereditary rights, on account of matters purely relative to another world, was a severe beheading in the law." He then maintained that they, who imposed fetters upon the conscience and persecuted for conscience sake, defeated God's work of grace, or the invisible operation of his holy Spirit, which could alone beget faith; that they claimed infallibility, which all good Protestants rejected; and that they usurped the divine prerogative, assuming the judgement of the Great Tribunal,

Tribunal, and thereby robbing the Almighty of a right which belonged exclusively to himself——that they overthrew the Christian religion in the very nature of it, for it was spiritual, and not of this world; in the very practice of it, for this consisted of meekness; in the promotion of it, for it was clear that they never designed to be better themselves, and they discouraged others in their religious growth; and in the rewards of it, for where men were religious out of fear, and this out of the fear of men, their religion was condemnation, and not peace ——that they opposed the plainest testimonies of divine writ, which concurred in condemning all force upon the conscience—— that they waged war against the privileges of nature, by exalting themselves and enslaving their fellow-creatures; by rendering null and void the divine instinct or principle in man, which was so natural to him, that he could be no more without it and be, than he could be without the most essential part of himself (for where would be the use of this principle, if it were regulated by arbitrary power?), and by destroying all natural affection——that they were enemies to the noble

noble principle of reason——that they acted contrary to all true notions of government, first, as to the nature of it, which was justice; secondly, as to the execution of it, which was prudence; and, thirdly, as to the end of it, which was happiness.——Having discussed these several points, he proceeded to answer certain objections, which he supposed might be made to some of the positions he had advanced, and concluded by attempting to show, by means of a copious appeal to history, that they who fettered the consciences of others and punished for conscience sake, reflected upon the sense and practice of the wisest, greatest, and best of men both of ancient and modern times.

When he had finished the above works the time for his liberation from prison approached. This having taken place, he travelled into Holland and Germany. His object was to spread the doctrines of his own religious society in these parts. Of the particulars of his travels we have no detailed account. We know only that he was reported to have been successful, and that he continued employed on the same errand during the remainder of the year.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

A. 1672—returns to England—marries—settles at Rickmansworth—travels as a preacher—writes "The Spirit of Truth vindicated"—"The new Witnesses proved old Heretics"—"Plain Dealing with a traducing Anabaptist"—"A Winding Sheet for the Controversy ended"—"Quakerism a new Nick-name for old Christianity"—Letter to Dr. Hasbert.

WILLIAM PENN, after his return from the Continent, entered into the married state. He was then in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He took for his wife Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett of Darling in Sussex, who had fallen at the siege of Bamber, during the civil wars, in the service of the Parliament. She was esteemed an extraordinary woman, and not more lovely on account of the beauty of her person than of the sweetness of her disposition. After their marriage they took up their residence at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.

It must be obvious that William Penn, now married and settled, and in the possession of an abundant fortune, might have led the life of a gentleman of leisure. But he had entered upon the important office of a minister

minister of the Gospel. This therefore kept him in no inconsiderable employ; for meetings for worship were then held at one place or another (many ministers travelling) almost every day in the week. The disputes too in the religious world, which obtained in these times, and in which the Quakers were engaged, called him frequently forth as an author. Of these disputes the following were conjoint and fruitful causes. In the preceding year Charles the Second had issued a declaration of indulgence to tender consciences in matters of religion, in consequence of which not less than five hundred Quakers had been released from prison. This indulgence was extended also to Dissenters at large. Now one would have thought that the leaders of the different religious sects, all of which had felt the iron hand of persecution, would have enjoyed this respite in solacing each other, and enlarging the boundaries of love between them. But far otherwise was the fact. Enjoying the sunshine of the King's indulgence, and feeling a liberty to which they had not been accustomed, many of them began to grow bold, and to have a longing to venture out into contro-

versy. Thus, when man has been lorded over, he feels too generally a disposition to play the tyrant himself. In this situation, however, they did not dare to attack the Church. Now it happened at this time that the great body of the Dissenters were well affected towards the Quakers; for, first, the Quakers never sculking under persecution, but worshiping at regular times, and this openly in their own meeting-houses, and on the very ruins of the same when they were destroyed, were always to be found by the civil magistrate; and, secondly, the number to be so found was sufficient to glut the most insatiable executioners of the laws. From these two causes the Quakers helped to bear off the blow, or to keep the great force of the stroke, from the other Dissenters. Hence the latter, and particularly the Baptists, began to be attached to them; and this attachment became at length such, that many left their own particular societies and joined them. The leaders then of several of the religious sects, finding their congregations growing less by such defections, and feeling that the fetters were in some measure taken from their arms by

the King's indulgence, thought they could not use their liberty better than by trying to crush the Quakers. Hence many publications appeared against the latter, which had been otherwise unknown. Placed then as William Penn was in one or other of the occupations which have been mentioned, that is, either in that of a public preacher or a controversial writer in behalf of his own society, he had but little time left him for repose during the present year.

The first instance of industry which we find in him as a minister of the Gospel after his marriage, was on the Midsummer following, when he traversed three counties in that capacity, Kent, Sussex, and Surry, and this with such rapidity, that he preached to no less than twenty-one different congregations of people, and some of these at considerable distances the one from the other, in twenty-one days. This must have been no easy performance, considering the comparative paucity and state of the roads at this period.

As an author we find him equally indefatigable. An anonymous writer had published "The Spirit of the Quakers tried."

This was one of the works alluded to which first roused him, and he answered it by "The Spirit of Truth vindicated."

John Morse, a preacher at Watford, having written against him in particular, and the Quakers in general, he repelled the attack by "Plain Dealing with a traducing Anabaptist."

"Controversy Ended" soon followed, which was the production of Henry Hedworth, another preacher, and which was of a similar stamp with the former. His answer to this paper was contained in "A Winding Sheet for Controversy Ended."

John Faldo, an Independent preacher near Barnet, finding that some of his hearers had gone over to the Quakers, was greatly incensed, and gave vent to his anger by writing a book, which he called "Quakerism no Christianity." This very soon attracted the notice of William Penn, and, as a reply to it, "Quakerism a new Nickname for old Christianity" followed.

About this time Reeve and Muggleton made a great noise in the religious world by pretending to wonderful revelations received immediately from Heaven. Reeve, who

who compared himself to Moses, asserted that he was ordered to communicate his new system to Muggleton, whom he likened to Aaron. William Penn, to expose the doctrines of these, published "The new Witnesses proved old Heretics."

There is a letter extant, which he wrote this year to Dr. Hasbert, a physician at Embden in Germany, whom he had found, on his late tour to the Continent, ready to embrace the religious principles of the Quakers. This letter was merely to encourage and strengthen him to pursue the path he had thus taken.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

A. 1673—*travels as a minister—writes "The Christian Quaker"—also "Reason against Railing and Truth against Fiction"—also "The Counterfeit Christian detected"—holds a public controversy with the Baptists at Barbican—his account of it to G. Fox—writes "The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication"—also "A Return to J. Faldo's Reply"—also "A just Rebuke to one-and-twenty learned and reverend Divines"—encomium of Dr. Moore on the latter—writes "Wisdom justified of her Children," and "Urim and Thummim"—and against John Perrot—and "On the general Rule of Faith," and on "The proposed Comprehension"—also six Letters—extract from that to Justice Fleming.*

WILLIAM PENN continued to be employed as in the preceding year. As the spring advanced he undertook a journey to the western parts of the kingdom, in which he was joined by George Whitehead. Travelling as ministers of the Gospel, they spread their principles as they went along. Gulielma Maria Penn accompanied her husband on this occasion. When they came to Bristol, it was the time of the great fair. It happened unexpectedly, that they were joined by George Fox, the founder of their religious society. He had just landed from a vessel, which

which had brought him from Maryland in America, whither he had gone some months before on a religious errand. All the parties staid at Bristol during the fair, and, uniting their religious labours, they brought over many to their persuasion.

As a writer, there was no end of his employment this year. The first who called him forth was Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher in London. Alarmed, like those mentioned in the preceding chapter, at the defection of many of his congregation, this person began his attack upon the Quakers by writing a Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker, which he forged so well, that many considered it not as a fiction, but as a discourse which had actually taken place between the parties described. By making, too, his Quaker say every thing that was weak and silly, he paved the way for such answers from his Christian as ensured the victory on his own side. This publication being such, William Penn could not but notice it; and he brought out accordingly "The Christian Quaker and his divine Testimony vindicated," by way of reply.

This work contained an explicit statement of

of the religious creed of the Quakers in those points which were then matter of controversy between them and those of Hicks's persuasion. The great subject of it was the Light of Christ within, which he handled thus. He began by explaining what this Light was, calling it among other things *The Principle of God in Man*, and asserting it to be the same as the *Word*, *Spirit*, *Life*, *Light*, *Seed*, *Truth*, as used in the holy Scriptures.——This Light manifested and reproved sin and led to salvation; to salvation, first, from sin, and, secondly, from the wrath to come.——The argument that men were wicked notwithstanding they had this Light within them, was no more an argument against its existence, than that men were wicked was an argument against the existence of the Scriptures, which also they had in their possession.——Neither, because all matters were not revealed by it, was this an argument against its sufficiency.——As this Light had manifested and reproved sin and led to salvation since the coming of Christ, so it had performed the same offices before; namely, from Adam through all the patriarchs and prophets——and as the Jews had

had a certain measure of this Light, so had the Gentiles also.——This was manifest from the tenets of their wise men, who acknowledged one God; who believed that the same God had imprinted the knowledge of himself on the minds of all mankind; that it became men to live piously; that the soul was immortal, and that there was an eternal recompense; tenets which were professed by Orpheus, Hesiod, Thales, Sybilla, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Timæus, Antisthenes, Plato, Zeno, Chrysippus, Antipater, Bias, Sophocles, Menander, Chilon, Pittacus, and many others.——This was the Gentile divinity; and though Jews and Christians had the advantage of the Gentiles in the measure of this Light, yet the latter had sufficient for their own salvation. —Some of them had a Light of the coming of Christ—Christ was this Light according to the Scriptures.——It was no argument against this, that he was not so called either by Jews or Greeks—nor was it an argument against this, that he was typified to come, when he was come before—nor did a belief that Christ was this Light in man invalidate his life, death, or resurrection, or the doctrine that he bore our iniquities,

or

or that men were redeemed by his blood. ——As Christ then was the Light within, so this Light had been given without exception, that is, to mankind universally. ——It had been given to them also in a measure sufficient for their salvation—— and all those who obeyed it forsook their evil ways, and became transformed in their lives and characters.

These were simply the heads of the work, in which he conducted himself with great dignity; for instead of launching out against Hicks in terms of severity, he no where mentioned his name, but satisfied himself with giving a compendium of the principles of his own society in those points which were then at issue between them, leaving him and others to compare the substance of it with that of the Dialogue in question.

In a short time after this, Hicks produced another publication. It was a continuation of the same Dialogue by the addition of a second part. It is remarkable that he took no notice whatever in this of "The Christian Quaker and his divine Testimony vindicated." This unfair treatment offended William Penn, who immediately attacked him by opposing to his Dialogue a little work, which he called

"Reason

"Reason against Railing and Truth against Fiction." But Hicks was not even yet silenced; for he resumed his operations against the Quakers, by adding a third part to the Dialogue. The part now mentioned, when published, produced from William Penn, in return, "The Counterfeit Christian detected, and the Real Quaker justified." Hicks after this appeared no more in print. The controversy, however, did not end here; for he had fabricated so many falsehoods respecting the Quakers, that they appealed as a society to the Baptists themselves against him; in consequence of which a meeting was appointed at Barbican, where both parties might be heard. But it was fixed so as to take place in the absence of George Whitehead and William Penn, who, it was known, were then travelling; so that great attendance having been procured on one side, and there being but little on the other, Hicks was declared by a majority of voices to be acquitted.

These proceedings were soon sent to William Penn, who on receiving them hastened to London. On his arrival there, he laid his complaint before the public in a printed paper,

paper, and demanded another meeting of the Baptists, in which the grievances of the Quakers might be heard. The paper was called "William Penn's just Complaint against, and solemn Offer of a public Meeting to, the leading Baptists." This demand after much opposition was complied with, and a second meeting appointed. When the parties met, there was much noise and rioting. The Baptists were clamorous against "The Christian Quaker and his divine Testimony vindicated."—"If," cried they, "Christ was the Light within, where was his manhood?" and they made so much noise, that they obliged as it were the Quakers to sustain a controversy on this point. This having been acceded to, the tumult subsided, and the meeting passed into silence, decorum, and good order.

I can no where find any printed account of this controversy; but as there is extant the fragment of a very curious letter written by William Penn to George Fox on this occasion, I shall make an extract from its contents. "Thy fatherly love," says he, "and tender care I do with all gentleness and true respect receive; but thou shalt understand the

the occasion of our answer, wherein we stated that 'the holy manhood was a member of the Christ of God.'

"The question was, 'If the manhoood were a part of Christ?' To this we must either have answered nothing, or only a Scripture, or in the terms of the question, or as we did.

"If we had answered nothing, we had gratified the enemy, stumbled the moderate, and grieved friends.

"If a Scripture, it had been no way satisfactory; for the question, they would have said, was not about the text, but about the understanding of it; and they would have charged us with so wresting it to a mystical sense, as to shut out the person that appeared in the flesh; so that, if we had answered them in any of those Scriptures, they would have asked in all probability, What man do you mean? the spiritual and heavenly man? the new creature or creation? or that outward man, that was outwardly born of the Virgin in Palestine, and was there outwardly crucified? If we had said No, we had been lost. That they would have put a mystical construction on our words,

words, if we had not answered them plainly, that is, by what we understood by the Scripture rather than by the Scripture itself, I have cause to believe, because the same person that proposed the question thus expounded, after the meeting, our belief in Christ, 'that he was born of a virgin, that is, of a virgin-nature and spirit; crucified, that is, slain by sin in us; rose, that is, rose up to rule us, and the like,'—making the people believe, that we denied that person, that outwardly appeared, to be the true Christ.

"Further, if we had answered in the terms of the question, we had taken Christ into *parts*, whereas I cried twice to them, 'Christ is not to be divided into parts.' But they still pressed the question, six thousand people, I believe, being present, and many of them were desirous of an answer. Upon this, Friends consented that it should be answered them, 'that the manhood was a part of Christ.' But I feared the word *part*, and chose rather to say that we believed the holy manhood to be a *member* of the Christ of God, and my reasons for so doing were these: First, What needed we to grant more than was asked? Friends only desired to have

have us grant that the manhood was a part of Christ, in order to overthrow T. Hicks's attempts to prove us no Christians; and that was of so great moment in that solemn and great assembly, as tongue cannot utter. Secondly, Since we were willing to go no further in our confessions than they asked at our hands, this was my reason for rejecting the word *part* for *member*, to wit, that a body may be taken into members without breach of union, but not into parts. A member divides not: parts divide. Christ is called the head, that is, the most noble member, the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body. Now calling these members *divides them not into parts.* Thirdly, I did not say, it was *but* a member, and I often repeated, that it was *of and belonging to Christ*, and in my confession at the close I said, that we believed in Christ, *both as he was the man Jesus, and God over all blessed for ever.* And I am sure that Paul divides him more than we did, Rom. ix. 5, since he makes a distinction between Christ as God, and Christ as man. Now if that hold, the one was not completely Christ without the other, as said these Baptists.

Therefore

Therefore G. K. said, that he was most excellently called so as God, less excellently as man, and least excellently as to his body. We might truly say then, that the *body was a member or belonging to the true Christ;* and if we had said more, we had gone too far, as I have learned. But, blessed be the Lord! I have not sought to comprehend or imagine; but as I am furnished upon the occasion, so it goes. I value the invisible touches and feeling of heavenly virtue and life beyond it all, nor am I delighted with these matters: but, dear George, I confess I never heard any Friend speak so fully as to Christ's manhood as thyself. I think so much in print in our name as a people would remove much prejudice, and the contest would come more to power against power, than words against words; only we must remember, that Christ is said to have been in the wilderness, and to have brought the people out of Egypt. If so, then he was Christ before he was born of the Virgin, and the apostle says that Christ is God, and that all things were made by him; though doubtless the great and glorious appearance might by way of eminency most properly deserve

deserve and require that title. As for those gross terms of *human flesh* and *human blood*, I never spoke or wrote them since I knew the Lord's truth. And this I must needs say, we have been as poor tossed sheep up and down, much abused, vilified, and belied: but over all God is raising the strong horn of his salvation; and he has magnified his name in all these bustles and stirs; and Truth has manifestly gotten ground, and in no one thing more than our plain confessions of Christ: so much had the Devil roosted and nestled himself in them under their misapprehensions of our words in that particular: and if any weakness attended the phrasing of it, I hope and believe the simplicity in which it was delivered will hide it from the evil watcher."——Here the first sheet of the letter ends, the second being lost, and with it all further knowledge of this controversy, as well as of the proceedings of Hicks, or of those who were associated with him on this occasion.

The person who next to Hicks gave this year the most trouble to William Penn, was John Faldo. He had produced, as stated in the preceding chapter, his book, called

"Quakerism no Christianity," which had been answered: but in the present year he appeared in print by publishing "A Vindication" of his former work. This brought forward a rejoinder, called "The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication," from William Penn. Upon this Faldo sent his antagonist a challenge to meet him in public dispute. William Penn, however, declined it. His reason, he said, for so doing was, that the points, upon which he had been challenged, were then in discussion between the Quakers and other people. In his answer, however, to the challenge, he stated, "that he loved, and therefore that he should at any time convenient embrace, a sober discussion of the principles of religion, for that he aimed at nothing more than Truth's triumph, though to his own abasement." Modest as this declaration was, Faldo was not satisfied, but published "A Curb to William Penn's Confidence," which the latter immediately opposed by "A Return to John Faldo's Reply." After this Faldo did not renew the contest himself: but he became an instrument of continuing it; for he assembled a large council of Divines, by whose advice his

his first work called "Quakerism no Christianity" was republished. This, the second edition of it, was accompanied by a commendatory preface produced by the joint labours of this learned body. As the work in its first form had attracted so much notice from William Penn, it may be easily supposed that it could not do less in the present. Accordingly he wrote a reply to it, which, on account of the number of clergymen concerned in the preface, he called "A just Rebuke to one-and-twenty learned and reverend Divines." After this the controversy ceased between them. I may just observe, with respect to the books written by William Penn on occasion of John Faldo, that Dr. Henry Moore, who was then considered one of the most learned and pious men in the Church of England, passed an encomium upon them. In a letter written to William Penn he expresses himself thus: "Indeed meeting with the little pamphlet of yours newly come out, wherein some twenty and odd learned and reverend Divines are concerned, I had the curiosity to buy and read it: and though I wish there were no

occasion for these controversies and contests betwixt those who have left the Church of Rome; yet I found such a taste both of wit and seriousness in that pamphlet, and the argument it was about so weighty, that I was resolved to buy all of John Faldo's and all of yours touching that subject; but before that little pamphlet, I never met with any of your writings."——"As to your other two books against John Faldo, whatever passages there be that may not be agreeable to my sentiments, you will easily perceive of what nature they are, by perusing my remarks upon G. K.'s immediate revelation. But there are sundry passages in those two books of yours nobly Christian, and for which I have no small kindness and esteem for you, they being testimonies of that, which I cannot but highly prize wherever I find it."

The persons who kept him employed next, were Henry Halliwell, who wrote an account of "Familism, as it was revived and propagated by the Quakers," and Samuel Grevil, a clergyman living near Banbury, who wrote "A Discourse against the Testimony

Testimony of the Light within." In answer to the first he published "Wisdom justified of her Children," and to the other "Urim and Thummim, or the Apostolical Doctrines of Light and Perfection maintained."

He was now obliged to take up his pen against John Perrot, one of his own society. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit speaking as it were within men and guiding them into the way of truth, which was the great corner-stone of Quakerism, had been received by many of that persuasion in too large a latitude, so that these, interpreting every ordinary motion within themselves as springing immediately from the divine impulse, and obeying it in its several tendencies, ran out into extravagancies in various ways. This conduct began to bring the rising name of the Quakers into some disrepute. Hence, and on account of the error which gave birth to it, the society was obliged to notice it, and in consequence several so acting were disowned. Among these was John Perrot. The said John Perrot and John Luff, supposing themselves to have been moved in this manner, or to have had

had a divine revelation for the purpose, undertook a journey to Rome with a view of converting the Pope. They had not been long there when they were taken up and put into prison. Luff was sent to the Inquisition, where he died, but not without a reasonable suspicion of having been murdered there. Perrot was put into a bedlam or hospital for madmen; from which being extricated, and this only by great interest, he returned to England. He had not been long at home, when he maintained that in the time of prayer men should keep their hats on, unless they had an immediate internal motion or notice to take them off; and he exemplified this doctrine by his practice into whatever meetings he went. It was in consequence of this irregularity of conduct, after many admonitions, that he was disowned. Soon after this his exclusion from membership an anonymous pamphlet appeared, but yet written by himself, called "The Spirit of the Hat." This occasioned William Penn to publish a reply, to which he gave the curious title of "The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived, and now justly rebuked." He had, however,

ever, scarce ushered it into the world, before Perrot wrote against the church order and discipline of the Quakers. This compelled him to enter the lists again, when a publication called "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his Followers" was the result of his labour.

Besides the works now mentioned, he wrote in the same year "A Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Practice, and Judge of Controversy," and "The proposed Comprehenion soberly and not unseasonably considered;" also six Letters of public concern, all of which are extant: one to the suffering Quakers in Holland and Germany; another to the little Church of the same established in the United Netherlands; a third to those who were then settled in Maryland, and in whose behalf he had interfered with the Attorney General of that colony and the Lord Baltimore relative to their scruples against oaths; the fourth to John Collenges, a doctor of divinity, in defence of his own book called "The Sandy Foundation shaken;" a fifth to Mary Pennyman, who had taken offence at his book entitled "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his

his Followers;" and the sixth to Justice Fleming, who was deputy lieutenant of the county of Westmoreland, and who had been harsh as a magistrate towards the Quakers. From the latter I give the following extract, on account of the just sentiments it contains. "The obligation (says he) which thy civility laid upon the person who is now my wife, when in the north in 1664, is, with her being so, become mine. Not to acknowledge, though I could never retaliate it, were a rudeness I have not usually been guilty of; for, however differing I am from other men *circa sacra*, that is, relative to religious matters, and to that world which, respecting men, may be said to begin when this ends, I know no religion which destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness. These, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."—And a little further on he adds, "That way is but a bad way of making Christians, which destroys their constitution as men."

CHAPTER X.

A. 1674—*tries to stem the torrent of religious persecution by a letter to Bowls—and to two other Justices—and to the King—writes for the same purpose "A Treatise of Oaths"—also "England's present Interest considered"—contents of this work—also "The continued Cry of the oppressed for Justice"—short extracts from the latter—also a Letter to the Senate of Embden—publishes "Naked Truth needs no Shift"—"Ives's sober Request proved false"—and "Libels no Proofs"—Letter to G. Fox on the subject of his release.*

THE declaration of indulgence to tender consciences in matters of religion, which was stated to have been granted by Charles the Second in 1671, had, for the short time it was in force, secured both the Quakers and other Dissenters from persecution; but in the year 1674, to which I now come, an occurrence took place, which became the means of removing it. The Parliament, though upon the whole friendly to religious toleration, considered this declaration of indulgence by the King as an undue extension of his prerogative, and therefore called it in as illegal. This measure was wilfully misinterpreted by those in office, who were bigots,

gots, as implying a wish on the part of Parliament that all privileges to Dissenters should be withdrawn; and therefore, to gratify their own barbarous prejudices, they availed themselves of this opportunity to consider the Conventicle Act as in force, and to renew their old practices. These cruel and wicked proceedings roused again the spirit of William Penn, and kept him employed, as we shall see, for nearly the remainder of the year.

Justice Bowls having led the way in Wiltshire by the persecution of Thomas Please, he was the first to attract the notice of William Penn; but the latter, not aware that this example would be so soon and so extensively followed, addressed to him only a short letter on the occasion.

The next breaking out of intolerancy was in Middlesex, where two justices of the peace summoned several Quakers before them, who had been charged with having met together in religious worship contrary to law. William Penn, on being made acquainted with the fact, addressed a moderate and respectful letter to them, in which he appealed to their own good sense on this subject.

subject. Among the many excellent passages contained in it, I shall select the following: "Next, let it be weighed," says he, "that *we came not to our liberties and properties by the Protestant religion. Their date rises higher.* Why then should a nonconformity to it, purely conscientious, deprive us of them? *This or that sort of religion was not specified in the ancient civil government*"—and further on he observes thus: "The nature of body and soul, of earth and heaven, of this world and that to come, differs. There can be no reason, then, to persecute any man *in this world* about any thing *that belongs to the next.* Who art thou, says the Holy Scripture in this case, *that judgest another man's servant? He must stand or fall to his master, the great God. Let tares and wheat grow together till the harvest.* To call for fire from heaven *was no part of Christ's religion.* Indeed he reproved the zeal of some of his disciples. His sword *is spiritual*, like his kingdom. Be pleased to remember, *that faith is the gift of God*, and what is not of faith is sin. We must either be hypocrites in doing what we believe in our consciences we ought not to do, or in forbearing

ing what we are fully persuaded we ought to do. Either give us better faith, or leave us with such as we have; for it seems unreasonable in you to disturb us for that which we have, and yet be unable to give us any other."

But, alas, the evil began seriously to spread! The same spirit of persecution appeared in Somersetshire. Humsheer, the town clerk of Bridgwater, and William Bull and Colonel Stawell, two justices of the peace for that county, were conspicuous for their severity there. Several Quakers were fined on suspicion only. Fines were levied upon others without warrants, and this to the breaking of locks and bolts. Goods were seized and taken, which were of twice the value of the fines; and, where the former were not of equal value with the latter, the parties were sent to gaol. These proceedings becoming known to William Penn, he thought it time to interfere more seriously; and therefore, hoping to set aside these practices by a summary proceeding, he addressed a letter immediately on the subject to the King.

This letter appears to have been of no avail

avail (nor indeed could the King help himself); for persecution still continued, and it not only spread to other counties, but it was carried on by a revival of that unjust procedure, by which William Penn himself had been sent to Newgate by Sir John Robinson, as mentioned in a preceding chapter; that is, when magistrates could not convict Quakers of the charges brought against them, they offered them the oath of allegiance; knowing that, if they obeyed their own scruples, they could not take it, and that, if they refused, they might be sent to prison. This being the case, and innocent men being thus tortured legally, William Penn was of opinion, that the country at large ought to know what the Quakers had to say for their conduct, when put to the test, on such occasions. Accordingly he published "A Treatise of Oaths," in which, first, he gave to the world all those reasons, both argumentative and scriptural, upon which they grounded their refusal to swear before the civil magistrate; hoping that these, when known, would at any rate shield them from the charge of disaffection, and, by so doing, that possibly they might put an end to the

oppressive

oppressive process in question. He then endeavoured to enforce these reasons by a learned appeal to the opinion and practice of the ancients, as it related to the Heathen world; by a reference to the testimony of the most famous Jewish writers; and by quotations from the sayings and writings of Christians of all ages, taking in those of fathers, confessors, martyrs, and others eminent both among the laity and the church.

But this work, however it might have softened some, had not the least influence (such was the religious fury of the times) where it was most to be desired. Bigots, who had power, still continued to abuse it. Persons were thrown into gaol, so that parents and their children were separated. Cattle were driven away. The widow's cow was not even spared. Barns full of corn were seized, which was thrashed out and sold. Household-goods were distrained, so that even a stool was not left in some cases to sit on, and the very milk boiling on the fire for the family thrown to the dogs in order to obtain the skillet as a prize. These enormities sometimes took place on suspicion only that persons had preached to or

attended

attended a conventicle; and to such length were they carried, that even some of those who went only to visit and sit by their sick relations, were adjudged to be a company met to pray in defiance of the law. In this trying situation William Penn attempted again to stem the torrent by a work of a new kind. He indulged a hope, that, if he could not affect some men's minds by one kind of argument, he might by another. In addition therefore to his moral and religious Treatise upon Oaths, he published a political one under the following title: "England's present Interest considered with Honour to the Prince and Safety to the People, in Answer to this one Question, What is most fit, easy, and safe at this Juncture of Affairs to be done for quieting Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Interests, and making them subservient to the Interest of the Government, and consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom? submitted to the Consideration of our Superiors."

Of this admirable work I cannot but notice the contents. He began it by a short preface. In this he showed the heated and divided state in which the kingdom then

was

was on account of religious differences. He maintained that what had been done by the Government to produce uniformity had failed; and that it had been productive not only of no good, but of much misery. He explained the nature of this misery by specific instances. He then stated the question as I have just given it in the title of the book, and answered it by asserting, that the thing most fit, safe, and easy to be done, would be a determination by the Government, first, upon an inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights; secondly, upon conducting itself so as to act upon a balance, as nearly as it could, towards the several religious interests; and, thirdly, upon a sincere promotion of general and practical religion.

Having finished this, the preface, he came to the body of the work, in which he considered the three parts or divisions of the answer as now given. In handling the first, or the determination by Government upon an inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights, he explained what he meant by the latter. Englishmen, he said, had birth-rights. The first of these consisted of *an ownership and undisturbed possession, so that*

that what they had was rightly their own and nobody's else, and such possession and ownership related both to title and security of estate, and liberty of person from the violence of arbitrary power. This was the situation of our ancestors in ancient British times. They who governed afterwards, the Saxons, made no alteration in this law, but confirmed it. The Normans, who came next, did the same. William, at his coronation, made a solemn covenant to maintain the good, approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, and to inhibit all spoil and unjust judgement. The same covenant was adopted by his successors, and confirmed by Magna Charta.——The second birth-right of Englishmen consisted *in the voting of every law that was made, whereby that ownership in liberty and property might be maintained.* This also was the case, as he proved by quotations from laws and an appeal to history, in British, Saxon, and Norman times.——The third birth-right of Englishmen consisted *in having an influence upon and a great share in the judicatory power, so that they were not to be condemned but by the votes of freemen.* This practice, he said, though not perhaps British, obtained very

early in Saxon times. It was among the laws of Ethelred, that in every hundred there should be a court, where twelve ancient free men, together with the lord of the hundred, should be sworn that they would not condemn the innocent or acquit the guilty. The same law continued to be the law of the land under different kings, till it was violated by John; when Magna Charta restored it. Magna Charta, however, he maintained, was *not the nativity*, but *the restorer* of ancient English privileges. It was *no grant of new rights, but only a restorer of the old.*——He then explained the Great Charter of England, and endeavoured to show by an appeal to reason, law, lawyers, and facts themselves, that the people of England could not be justly disseized of any of these fundamentals without their own consent collectively; nor could their representatives, whatever else they might do, constitutionally alter them. ——If, however, any alteration should be made in these great fundamentals of the constitution, the reason should be the inconvenience or evil of continuing them. No other reason could be pleaded in excuse; but no such justification had been attempted. Nothing

thing then, he maintained, could be more unjust than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man for religion, where he was not found breaking any law which related to natural or civil things. Religion under any modification or church government was no part of the old English constitution. "*Honestè vivere, alterum non lædere, jus suum cuique tribuere,*" that is, To live honestly, to do no injury to another, and to give every man his due, was enough to entitle every native to English privileges. *It was this, and not his religion, which gave him the great claim to the protection of the Government under which he lived. Near three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground the inhabitants had a good constitution. This came not in with him. Neither did it come in with Luther; nor was it to go out with Calvin. We were a free people by the creation of God, by the redemption of Christ, and by the careful provision of our never to be forgotten, honourable ancestors; so that our claim to these English privileges, rising higher than Protestantism, could never justly be invalidated on account of nonconformity to any tenet or fashion it might prescribe.* This would be to lose by

the Reformation, which was effected only, that we might enjoy property with conscience. But if these ancient fundamental laws, so agreeable to nature, so suited to the dispositions of our nation, so often defended with blood and treasure, so carefully and frequently ratified by our ancestors, should not be to our great state-pilots as stars or compass for them to steer the vessel of the kingdom by, or as limits to their legislation, no man could tell how long he would be secure of his coat, enjoy his house, have bread for his children, or liberty to work for it, or life to eat it.——He then argued the folly, the inconsistency, the evil tendency of acting in such cases by any other rules than those of the people's rights, and brought examples from history to show how a contrary conduct had operated to the downfall of many states.

With respect to the second part of the answer, that is, a determination by the Government of conducting itself so as to act upon a balance, as nearly as it could, towards the several religious interests, he proved, first, that our Saviour prohibited all force in producing an uniformity of religious opinion.

opinion.——He contended, secondly, that, if any one party should use force for such a purpose, it ought to have the preponderance in numbers, wisdom, wealth, sober life, industry, and resolution on its own side. But this was then not the case with the Church. If, however, the Church of England had then by the favour of the Government a greater share of authority than any other in the land, he maintained not only that the said Government ought not to favour one class of religious Dissenters more than another—but that it ought to preserve a due balance by treating all alike, and by freely giving, not a Comprehension, but Toleration to all. This latter sentiment he supported by eight arguments chiefly of a prudential nature, and drawn partly from general principles and partly from the political state of the kingdom, of which I have only room for the following. "It is not," says he, "the interest of Governours to blow coals in their own country, especially when it is to consume their own people, and it may be themselves too." Again: "Such conduct not only makes them enemies, but there is no such excitement to revenge as a raped

raped conscience. Whether the ground of a man's religious dissent be rational or not, severity is unjustifiable with him; for it is a maxim with sufferers, that, whoever is in the wrong, the persecutor cannot be in the right. Men not conscious to themselves of evil, and hardly treated, not only resent it unkindly, but are bold to shew it." Again: "Suppose the prince by his severity should conquer any into compliance, he could upon no prudent ground assure himself of their fidelity, that is, of the fidelity of those whom he taught to be treacherous to their own convictions."——Having detailed his eight arguments, he anticipated three objections which might be made to them, and then gave to each of these a distinct consideration and reply.

With respect to the third part of the answer, that is, a determination by the Government upon a sincere promotion of general and practical religion, I shall only observe, that, however excellent his sentiments were on that subject, it is unnecessary to repeat them, because the advantage of such a determination if put in practice must be obvious.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this excellent work, persecution still followed those who dared to dissent practically from the Established Church, but particularly the Quakers; and continuing to rage with unabated fury, he resolved to make one other effort in behalf of his suffering brethren. Finding that an appeal to reason, and to the law and constitution of the country, had failed with those to whom he had lately addressed himself, he determined to try to make an impression upon their feelings. He wrote therefore a small book, which he called "The continued Cry of the oppressed for Justice, being a farther Account of the late unjust and cruel Proceedings of unreasonable Men against the Persons and Estates of many of the People called Quakers, only for their peaceable Meetings to worship God: presented to the serious Consideration of the King and both Houses of Parliament." He began this book with an appropriate address to the three branches of the Constitution, after which he satisfied himself with relating in a plain and simple manner several of the atrocities which had taken place in different parts of the kingdom, hoping that the bare recital of them would do

do good. That the reader may judge of some of these, I shall lay before him the following extracts. "Four persons were sent to prison only for attending a meeting at Long Claxton in Leicestershire, from whom goods of various kinds were seized to the amount of two hundred and thirty-six pounds (an enormous sum in those days), their very bed-clothes and working-tools being taken from them. In clearing the meeting-house on this occasion, not only men but women were forcibly dragged out, some by the heels and others by the hair of their heads. Many were also purposely trod upon, and several bruised and wounded in different ways.——In Nottinghamshire, James Nevil, a justice of the peace, took from T. Samsun by warrant on account of his attending two meetings, nineteen head of beasts and goods to the value of sixty pounds and upwards. ——In the county of Norfolk John Patteson had two hundred sheep taken from him, and William Barber cows, carts, a plough, a pair of harrows, and hay, for the same offence, to the amount of fifty pounds. Barber's house had been rifled before *ten times*, and he was *then a prisoner* upon a writ *de excom-*

excommunicato capiendo.——William Brazier, shoemaker at Cambridge, was fined by John Hunt, mayor, and John Spencer, vicechancellor, twenty pounds for holding a peaceable religious meeting in his own house. The officers, who distrained for this sum, took his leather, last, the seat he worked upon, wearing clothes, bed, and bedding.——In Somersetshire F. Pawlett, justice of the peace, fined thirty-two persons only for being at a burial, and seized for the fines cows, corn, and other goods to the amount of eighty-two pounds and upwards. No one appearing to buy the distrained cattle, the Justice employed a person to buy them for himself.——In Berkshire Thomas Curtis was fined three pounds fifteen shillings by Justice Craven, who ordered his mare to be seized, which was worth seven pounds. Curtis put in an appeal against this proceeding, according to the act; but it was thrown out. The officers also offered the fine to Craven; but he would not take it, but had the mare valued at four pounds, and then kept her for himself.——In Cheshire Justice Daniel, of Daresbury, took from Briggs and others the value of one hundred and sixteen pounds fifteen shillings

shillings and tenpence in corn, kine, and horses. The latter he had the audacity to retain and to work for his own use.——In the same county, near Nantwich, Justice Manwaring took by warrant, for fines which amounted to eighty-seven pounds, goods to the value of one hundred and one pounds in kine, bacon, bedding, brass, pewter, corn, cloth, shoes and cheese. Some of the sufferers appealing, the Jury acquitted them; but the Justices would not receive the verdict. The same Justices, on the other hand, at the next sessions gave judgement for the informers with treble costs.——Such was the nature of "The continued Cry of the oppressed for Justice;" a work, though small, yet valuable, inasmuch as it shows us what man is capable of when under the dominion of bigotry and superstition; furnishing us with facts, which but for the known truth of them, we, who live in this improved age, should have thought incredible under a Government calling itself Protestant, and crying out against the persecution of the Romish Church.

The same spirit of love and hatred of oppression, which made William Penn so warm

an advocate for his brethren at home, impelled him to become the champion of their interests abroad. A decree had come out this year at Embden, by which all Quakers were to be banished from that city. He wrote therefore a letter to the Senate of Embden, worded in Latin, and of considerable length, in their behalf.

We find that he was engaged in three works of a controversial nature during the present year. An anonymous person had published "The Quaker's last Shift found out." This he answered by "Naked Truth needs no Shift." He wrote, secondly, "Jeremy Ives's sober Request proved in the Matter of it to be false, and impertinent, and impudent," and soon after this "Libels no Proofs."

About this time he interested himself in procuring the release of George Fox. The latter after his return from America went to London, and after staying there some time left it, partly to visit his mother, who was then on her death-bed, and partly to return home with his wife into Lancashire. In passing, however, through Worcestershire, he happened to preach. This was just after

the

the Act of Indulgence had been called in. The consequence was, that he was taken up and committed to Worcester gaol, where he had been then a prisoner for some months. In this situation William Penn exerted himself in his favour, as appears by the following letter:

" DEAR GEORGE FOX!

" Thy dear and tender love in thy last letter I received, and for thy business thus: A great lord, a man of a noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty. He prevailed with the King for a pardon, but that we rejected. Then he prest for a more noble release, that better answered hath. He prevailed, and got the King's hand to a release. It sticks with the Lord Keeper, and we have used and do use what interest we can. The King is angry with him (the Lord Keeper), and promiseth very largely and lovingly; so that, if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. But we have sought after a writ of error these ten days past, well nigh resolving to be as sure as we can; and an habeas corpus is gone or will go to-morrow night. My dear love salutes thee and thy dear wife.

. Things

Things are brave as to Truth in these parts, great conviction upon the people. My wife's dear love is to you all. I long and hope ere long to see thee.

"So, dear George Fox, am, &c.

"WM. PENN."

There is another letter from William Penn to George Fox on the same subject, but it is unnecessary to copy it. It may suffice to say, that, after a discovery of several errors in the indictment, the release of his friend followed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

A. 1675—*continues at Rickmansworth—converts many—holds a public dispute there with Richard Baxter—corresponds with the latter—publishes "Saul smitten to the Ground"—writes to a Roman Catholic—arbitrates between Fenwick and Byllinge—two Letters to the former.*

In the year 1675 we find him still living at Rickmansworth, where, as well as in other places, he became eminent as a minister of the Gospel. In his own neighbourhood indeed he had converted many; and from this cause, as well as from a desire which others of his own society had to live near him, the country about Rickmansworth began to abound with Quakers. This latter circumstance occasioned him, oddly enough, to be brought forward again as a public disputant; for the celebrated Richard Baxter, who was then passing that way, when he saw so many of the inhabitants of this description, began to be alarmed for their situation. He considered them as little better than lost people, and was therefore desirous of preaching to them, in order, to use his own words, "that they might once hear what was to be said for their recovery."

This

This coming to the ears of William Penn, he wrote to Baxter, and one letter followed another, till at length it was mutually agreed, that they should hold a public controversy on some of the more essential articles of the Quaker faith. What these were I could never learn. It is certain, however, that the parties met, and that they met at Rickmansworth. It is known also, that the controversy began at ten in the morning, and lasted till five in the afternoon, and that the disputants addressed themselves, each in turn, to two rooms filled with people, among whom were counted one lord, two knights, and four conformable ministers, that is, clergymen of the Established Church.

Of the issue of this controversy I can find no record. Richard Baxter seems to have been satisfied with himself on the occasion, for he says in allusion to it, "that the success of it gave him cause to believe that it was not labour lost." William Penn, on the other hand, spoke of it with some confidence; for, in a letter which he addressed to Richard Baxter soon afterwards, he stated, "that if he had taken advantage of him, he could have rendered him more ridiculous than

than he feared his principles of love would have borne." From the same letter we have reason to think that the meeting was not a well conducted one; for William Penn says, that "if he should be informed, when Richard Baxter's occasions would permit a debate more methodically, and like true disputation, (which he judged more suitable before the same audience,) he would endeavour to comply, though he was not without weighty affairs almost continually on his hands to furnish him with an excuse."

This letter and the public dispute preceding it gave rise to a correspondence between the parties, in which three or four other letters were exchanged. Of the contents of those written by Richard Baxter I can find nothing, except what may be inferred from those which are extant of William Penn. I shall therefore pass both of them over, observing only, that William Penn's last letter manifested a spirit of forgiveness which exalted his character, and a spirit, by which it was apparent that, whatever he might think of the doctrine or temper of his opponent, he believed in the soundness of his heart. The conclusion of it was this: "in which dear love

love of God, Richard Baxter, I do forgive thee, and desire thy good and felicity. And when I read thy letter, the many severities therein could not deter me from saying that I could freely give thee an apartment in my house and liberty therein; that I could visit, and yet discourse thee in much tender love, notwithstanding this hard entertainment from thee. I am, without harder words,

"Thy sincere and loving Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In the course of this year Matthew Hide, who had been very troublesome in the Quakers' meetings, by interrupting and opposing their ministers when in the performance of their worship, became sick; and being on his death-bed, and under great remorse of conscience for what he had done, he could not be easy till he had sent for George Whitehead and others of the society, to express to them the sorrow he felt for the opposition he had given them as a people. This gave occasion to William Penn to publish a small work, which he called "Saul smitten to the Ground, being a brief but faithful Narrative of the dying Remorse of a late living Enemy, (to the People called Quakers,

and their Faith and Worship,) Matthew Hide, attested by Ear- and Eye-Witnesses; whereof his Widow was one :—published in Honour to God, for a Warning to Gainsayers, and a Confirmation to the Honest-hearted."

He wrote also a Letter to a Roman Catholic, but the occasion of it is not mentioned. "The Church of Rome, he said, had lost her chastity, having taken in discipline and principles which were neither of Christ, nor to be found in the holy Scriptures. She had departed from the simplicity, purity, meekness, patience, and self-denial of the first churches. They only were Christ's who took up their cross against the glory and spirit of this world. It was a mistake to think that to be a church of Christ, which had lost its heavenly qualifications, because it once was; for what was become of Antioch and Jerusalem, both churches of Christ, and before Rome?" He then called his (the Roman Catholic's) attention to the New Dispensation, which he and his friends were promoting, and exhorted him "to build no more upon the fancies and traditions of men, but upon Christ the sure foundation as he appeared in the consciences of men."

After

After this he was engaged in an arbitration between John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, two members of his own religious society, who had purchased of Lord Berkeley his half share of New Jersey in North America. Having well considered the case, he had made his award; but Fenwick refused to abide by it. This gave him great uneasiness, and produced from him the following friendly letter:

"JOHN FENWICK!

"The present difference betwixt thee and Edward Byllinge fills the hearts of Friends with grief, and with a resolution to take it in two days into their consideration to make a public denial of the person that offers violence to the award made, or that will not end it without bringing it upon the public stage. God, the righteous judge, will visit him that stands off. Edward Byllinge will refer the matter to me again, if thou wilt do the like. Send me word; and, as oprest as I am with business, I will find an afternoon to-morrow or next day to determine, and so prevent the mischief that will certainly follow divulging it in Westminster-hall. Let me know by the bearer thy mind.

O John! let Truth and the honour of it in this day prevail! Woe to him that causeth offences! I am an impartial man.

"WILLIAM PENN."

This letter in about ten days was followed by a second, in which he could not help rebuking Fenwick on account of his conduct. He stated, however, that the original of the dispute reflected upon both parties, and, what was worse, upon Truth, that is, upon their religious profession as Quakers. It was to hide this their high profession from shame, that he undertook the office of an arbitrator; and he was willing to continue his mediation for the same reason.

In thirteen days he wrote another letter to Fenwick, which, as it shows the openness of his mind, and is withal full of good sense or rather true wisdom, I submit to the perusal of the reader.

"JOHN FENWICK!

"I have upon serious consideration of the present difference (to end it with benefit to you both, and as much quiet as may be,) thought my counsel's opinion very reasonable: indeed, thy own desire to have the eight parts added, was not so pleasant to the other

other party that it should now be shrunk from by thee as injurious; and when thou hast once thought a proposal reasonable, and given power to another to fix it, 'tis not in thy power, nor indeed a discreet or civil thing, to alter or warp from it, and call it a being forced. *O John! I am sorry that a toy, a trifle, should thus rob men of their time, quiet, and a more profitable employ.* I have had a good conscience in what I have done in this affair; and if thou reposest confidence in me, and believest me to be a good and just man, as thou hast said, thou shouldst not be upon such nicety and uncertainty. *Away with vain fancies, I beseech thee, and fall closely to thy business. Thy days spend on, and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grandchildren may be in the other world, before the land thou hast allotted will be employed.* My counsel, I will answer for it, shall do thee all right and service in the affair that becomes him, who, I told thee at first, should draw it up as for myself. If this cannot scatter thy fears, thou art unhappy, and I am sorry.

"Thy Friend, WILLIAM PENN."

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

A. 1676—writes "The Skirmisher defeated"—also to two Protestant Ladies of Quality in Germany—becomes a manager of proprietary concerns in New Jersey—divides it into East and West—draws up a Constitution, and invites Settlers in the latter.

In the year 1676 John Cheney, who lived near Warrington, and who had written frequently against the religious principles of the Quakers, brought out a work which he called "A Skirmish upon Quakerism." He took occasion in this to lay hold of a passage in one of the books which William Penn had written in the course of his controversy with Faldo. This coming to the knowledge of the latter, he produced by way of reply "The Skirmisher defeated and Truth defended," in which he was so successful that Cheney never ventured to provoke him again.

There is extant a letter, which he wrote in the present year to two Protestant women of quality in Germany. The one was the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the deceased Frederic the Fifth, Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, and granddaughter of King James the First. The other

other was Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, the friend and companion of the former. These ladies had long discovered a serious disposition of mind, and one of them, the Princess, had shown her liberality and humanity by affording an asylum in her dominions to persons who had been persecuted on account of their religion. Since that time they had looked favourably upon those doctrines which the Quakers taught; for R. Barclay, the celebrated Apologist, and B. Furley, who were then travelling on the Continent as ministers, had paid them a religious visit, and had been well received by them. The object therefore of this letter (a very long one) was chiefly to afford them consolation, and to exhort them to constancy and perseverance in the way to which they had been thus providentially directed.

About this time William Penn came accidentally into the situation of a manager of colonial concerns in New Jersey in North America, a situation not only important in itself, but which produced the most important results: for, by being concerned there, he was by degrees led to, and fitted for, the formation of a colony of his own. The way in which he

he became so concerned was the following: Lord Berkeley, who was joint proprietor of New Jersey with Sir George Carteret, had in the preceding year sold his half share of it to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge. It was on this subject that the dispute arose between the latter, which William Penn has been just mentioned to have arbitrated, and which since that time he had by means of the most exemplary perseverance brought to an amicable issue. As soon as the adjustment took place, Fenwick in company with his wife and family and several Quakers embarked for America in the ship Griffith, and took possession of the land. Byllinge however, who had been drained of his money by the purchase, and who since the sailing of Fenwick had experienced misfortune, found himself unable to meet the pecuniary demands which were brought against him. He agreed therefore to deliver over his new property in trust for his creditors; but in consenting to do this, he had his eye fixed upon the friendly assistance of William Penn. He therefore supplicated the latter with the most earnest entreaty to become a joint trustee with Gawen Laurie of London

London and Nicholas Lucas of Hertford, two of the said creditors, to carry his intention into effect. To this, but not till after much consideration, he assented; and thus, though he was in no way concerned in the affairs of Byllinge, he came into the situation described.

His new office requiring exertion, and this immediately, he was all at once overwhelmed in business. The first thing he did, in conjunction with the trustees, was to agree with Sir George Carteret upon a division of the province. They allotted to the latter the eastern part of it, which by this time was tolerably well peopled; and the western, in which no settlements had been yet made, they took in behalf of Byllinge to themselves. From this time the former took the name of East, and the latter that of West New Jersey, according to this their relative situation to each other.

This division having been made, they then subdivided their own portion into a hundred lots. Ten of these they gave to Fenwick as a repayment for time, trouble, and money advanced by him to Lord Berkeley, and the remaining ninety they reserved for

for sale, for the benefit of the creditors of Byllinge.

The next step was to form a Constitution, for those who in consequence of purchase were to settle in the new land. This task, the most difficult, fell almost exclusively upon William Penn. He therefore drew up what he called Concessions, or terms of grant and agreement, which were to be mutually signed. The great outline of these may be comprehended in few words. The people were to meet annually to choose one honest man for each proprietary who had signed the Concessions.——They, who were so chosen, were to sit in assembly.——They were there to make, alter, and repeal laws.——They were there also to choose a Governor, or Commissioner, with twelve assistants, who were to execute these laws, but only during their pleasure.——Every man was to be capable both of choosing and being chosen.——No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood.——No man was to be imprisoned for debt; but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty

ty to work again for himself and family.—— No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion.—— Such was the simple outline of the Concessions, "by an adherence to which he hoped that he had laid a foundation for those in after ages to understand their liberty both as men and Christians, and by an adherence to which they could never be brought into bondage but by their own consent."

Having made these and other arrangements, he and his colleagues gave notice of the same in a public letter, which they signed, and circulated through the kingdom. Through the medium of this, they particularly invited those who were of their own religious society to become the new settlers. They cautioned these, however, against leaving their country out of any idle curiosity, or rambling disposition, or improper motive, or to the violation of the feelings of their kindred, or of their religious unity as Friends. To this caution they annexed "A Description of West New Jersey," of its climate, soil, and produce, in order that none might be deceived, or have occasion afterwards to repent of their undertaking.

Thus

Thus was William Penn employed during a part of the present year. Thus, by becoming a trustee for Byllinge, he was unexpectedly thrown into a situation which brought before him the great question of Settlements in the then newly discovered world, which enabled him to gain considerable knowledge with respect to the formation of these, and which therefore by degrees qualified him for that station which he filled afterwards as the founder of Pennsylvania, with so much credit to himself, with so much honour to his country, and to the admiration of succeeding ages.

CHAPTER XIII.

A. 1677—*continues his management of West New Jersey—appoints Commissioners to go there—sells a portion of the land—sends off three vessels—undertakes a religious visit to Holland and Germany—writes to the King of Poland from Amsterdam—his kind reception and employment at the Court at Herwerden—occurrences at Krisheim—Duysburg—Mulheim—Harlingen—Wonderwick—and other places—writes at Frankfort "A Letter to the Churches of Jesus throughout the World"—and at Rotterdam "A Call or Summons to Christendom," and other tracts—disputes with Galenus Abrams—returns to England—holds a dispute with William Rogers at Bristol.*

In the early part of 1677 William Penn continued to be employed on behalf of Byllinge. It appears that he had then left his house at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, and that he had established himself at Worminghurst in Sussex. Here then, in the calm retreat of the country, he took thought for his new colony. The more he considered his situation as a principal manager of it, the more he became interested in it. It was his duty to take care of the individual for whom he acted; but it was a more pleasing consideration that, in attending to his interests, he had

had an opportunity of becoming useful on a larger scale.

While at Worminghurst applications came to him, in consequence of the public letter which had been circulated, for shares in the new adventure, by which it appeared that there was a probability of disposing of a considerable portion of West New Jersey. He consulted therefore with his colleagues; and the result was, that they determined to appoint and send over Commissioners, who should be empowered to purchase lands of the Indians, to examine the rights of such as might claim property in the new territory, to give directions for laying out the allotments there, and to administer, for the first year, the government according to the spirit of the Concessions before mentioned.

They resolved next to open proposals for the immediate sale of the lands. These offers were no sooner made, such was the high character of William Penn, than they were accepted. Among the purchasers were two companies, both consisting of Quakers, the one of persons from London, the other from Yorkshire. These contracted for large shares, and

and had patents for them. The members of the Yorkshire company were principal creditors of Byllinge, and they received a tenth part of the whole land in consideration of their debts.

As no persons could more properly act as Commissioners than they who had a stake or interest in the new territory, it was judged advisable that some of the most respectable of the purchasers should be appointed to this office, and that the purchasers in general should nominate the rest. Accordingly Thomas Olive and Daniel Wills were chosen from among the London, and Joseph Helmsly and Robert Stacey from among the Yorkshire proprietors. To these were added Richard Guy, who was then in America with Fenwick, and John Kinsey, Benjamin Scott, and others.

Matters having been thus prepared, the Commissioners, with several of the proprietors and their families and servants, to the number of two hundred and thirty, embarked in the ship Kent, Gregory Marlow master. As they were lying in the Thames ready to sail, it happened that King Charles the Second was passing by in his pleasure-barge.

barge. Seeing a number of persons on board, he went alongside, and inquired whither they were bound. On receiving information, he asked if they were all Quakers. And being answered in the affirmative, he gave them his blessing, and departed. Soon after this the ship weighed anchor and proceeded to sea. It may be proper to observe, that two other vessels, one from London and the other from Hull, followed the ship Kent, the one carrying seventy and the other one hundred and fourteen passengers to the same parts.

We hear nothing more of William Penn till the month of June, when he left Worminghurst to attend the yearly meeting of the Quakers. This meeting, which lasted several days, was held in London, and persons belonging to the society flocked to it from all parts. Among those who came to it were George Fox and John Burnyeat, the latter of whom was an eminent minister at that time. These two on the breaking up of the meeting returned with William Penn to Worminghurst, where they wrote their great work called "A New England Firebrand quenched," in answer to a publication which

a person

a person of the name of Williams, then a settler in New England, had brought out against the Quakers. It is probable from this circumstance that they were assisted in it by William Penn.

It was here too, and at this time, that it became a growing concern with William Penn to visit Holland and Germany. His object was to communicate "with many seeking persons" there, and to bring these to the knowledge of what he conceived to be the Truth. He had already, as has been before mentioned, visited the Continent on the same errand, where many had been converted by his labours; but since that time such an accession had been made to these by different Quakers, who had travelled there, that meetings both for worship and discipline had in some instances been established among them. He had besides many correspondents, and invitations from various persons in these parts. It happened also at this time, while the religious visit in question occupied his mind, that he received a letter from Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, before mentioned, which, as it showed her kind disposition towards him, as well as

the modest and pious frame of her mind, could not but have the effect of inclining him still more towards the same course. This letter was in answer to one of his own, and ran thus:

"This, my Friend, will inform you that both your letters were acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples is not so much as a cup of cold water. It affords them no refreshment. Neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Duchess of L——, as I expressed at the same time to B. Furley. But as R. Barclay desired I would write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man may reach at: the true inward graces are yet wanting in your affectionate Friend, "ELIZABETH."

Called upon then by the religious workings of his own mind, and additionally by such favourable circumstances, William Penn prepared for his journey. At length he took leave

leave of his wife and family; and passing through London, and visiting his mother in his way through Essex, he reached Harwich, from whence, after attending a meeting for worship, in which he says "he felt a blessed earnest of the divine love and presence which should accompany him on his voyage," he went on board the packet, and set sail for the Dutch coast.

George Fox, Robert Barclay, and several others of the society accompanied him, all of whom went on the same errand, but each according to what he conceived to be his appointed course. It appears that they held religious meetings while on board, and that they were particularly well accommodated, the captain of the packet having served under Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn.

After landing at the Brill, they proceeded to Rotterdam. During their stay there they had two meetings, at which, says William Penn in his usual energetic manner, "the Gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted."

They went next to Leyden, and from thence to Harlem, where they preached, and afterwards to Amsterdam. Here they orga-

nized a system of discipline for such as had been converted by former preachers, and held religious meetings, at which a mighty concourse of people attended, consisting of Baptists, Presbyterians, Seekers, Socinians, and others. Letters arriving here from Dantzic, complaining of the sufferings which the Quakers underwent in that city, it was allotted to William Penn to write to the King of Poland in their behalf. This task he undertook. He explained to the King in this letter, first, what the religious principles of the Quakers really were. He then stated in a respectful manner the reasons why they as a people absented themselves from the common ministry or worship, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to his reason to protect them in their religious rights. "Give us poor Christians," says he, "leave to expostulate with thee.——When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs, and staves, and swords, and prisons, and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man?

man? When did violence ever make a true convert, or bodily punishment a sincere Christian? This maketh void the end of Christ's coming, which was to save men's lives, and not to destroy them; to persuade them, and not to force them. Yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to convince the world. This is the sword by which the ancient Christians overcame. It was the apostles' testimony, that their weapons were not carnal, but spiritual: but the practice of their pretended successors proveth that their weapons are not spiritual, but carnal.——Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called, yet pluck us not up for Christ's sake, who saith, Let the tares and the wheat grow up until the harvest, that is, until the end of the world. Let God have his due as well as Cæsar. The judgement of conscience belongeth unto him, *and mistakes about religion are known to him alone.* And here give me leave to remind thee of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen, King of Poland: 'I am King of men, not of consciences; King of bodies, and not of souls.'"

Leaving George Fox at Amsterdam, they went

went through Naerden to Osnaburg. William Penn had been about six years before at the inn where he was then to sleep. During the evening they conversed with the master of it on the subject of religion, and presented him with several books containing the principles of their society, not only that he might read himself, but distribute them to others; and here I may observe, to prevent repetition, that it was their practice to do the same thing as they travelled along, conversing in like manner with and giving books to such passengers as the boats or waggons were accustomed to bring to their own quarters.

The next day they arrived at Herwerden, where Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, before spoken of, held her court, and with whom the Countess of Hornes, as before mentioned, lived as a companion.

The next morning at seven* they waited upon her by appointment, and were received both by the Princess and Countess with such

* It appears from the journal from which this account is taken, that the Princess must have breakfasted between six and seven, dined at one, and supped at eight; hours of meal, which afford a striking contrast to those of modern times.

extra-

extraordinary expressions of kindness as deeply affected them. This conduct on the part of persons in such an elevated station confirmed their hope, that the great day of the restoration of Christianity was approaching. William Penn, cherishing this feeling, delivered himself as a preacher before them. His brethren followed him in like manner; so that the visit, which in fact was a religious meeting, was not over till eleven. On withdrawing they were invited to dinner, but they excused themselves. In the afternoon they returned to the palace, where not only the Princess and Countess but several others were ready to receive them. A meeting for worship then began according to the custom of the Quakers. "It was at this meeting," says William Penn, "that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear." The hearers are said to have been greatly affected. The preachers also were not less so; for when the meeting was over, which lasted till seven in the evening, they returned to their lodgings with hearts full of thanksgiving for the mercies bestowed upon them on that day.

The next being the day on which the Princess

cess received addresses and petitions, they did not obtain an audience of her till nine o'clock. A meeting was then held, at which all the inferior servants of her household were ordered to attend. In the afternoon they visited her again. During this visit William Penn performed a promise which he had made in the morning, that he would give an account of his conversion, and of those tribulations and consolations which he had experienced in the prosecution of his religious professions. He accordingly began; but before he had finished his narrative the supper was announced. They then withdrew to another room. Two persons were present at this, who were not on any of the former occasions, a sister to the Countess of Hornes, and a French lady. After supper they returned to their first apartment. William Penn then resumed and continued his history, and at eleven he and his friends took their leave and departed for their inn.

On the third day they assembled for worship again, when, by an arrangement previously made, not only the family but several of the inhabitants of the town were present. "This meeting," says William Penn,

Penn, " began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that God would glorify his name on that day :" and in describing the effect of it he speaks thus, " and by his own power he made way to their consciences, and sounded his wakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there was none like unto him.——Yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached them ; and virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the pure frankincense, yea, than the sweet-smelling myrrh, which cometh from a far country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended."——And as the effect is described to have been great both upon the preachers and upon the hearers, so upon no one more than the Princess, who was so overcome, that when she went to William Penn after the meeting to take leave of him, she could scarcely find utterance for her words.

At length they left Herwerden. R. Barlay returned to Amsterdam ; but William ɔnn and the rest proceeded to Paderborn, and

and from thence to Cassel, where many are said "to have tenderly and lovingly received them;" among whom was one "Dureus, a man of seventy-seven years of age, who had forsaken his learning and school-divinity for the teachings of the Holy Spirit." Travelling on after this, they were met within three miles of Frankfort by two of its inhabitants, who informed them that, having been made previously acquainted with their route, they had come out to meet and welcome them, and to conduct them to that city.

They staid there two days, during which they held meetings at private houses, where several both of the Calvinistic and Lutheran persuasion were converted, particularly Joanna Eleonora de Merlau, a young lady of noble birth. The impression made at the last of these meetings is said to have been more powerful than on any former occasion. Here William Penn, encouraged by the great progress he had made in what he conceived to be the Truth, wrote a long letter "To the Churches of Jesus throughout the World." By churches he meant those individuals in a country, whether in Germany or elsewhere, who,

who, professing the same principles as the Quakers, were, though scattered in various parts, "gathered and settled in the divine Light and Spirit, to be one holy flock and family to the Lord." This letter exhibits, what I have before explained, the belief which the early Quakers had, that they had a divine commission for the restoration of primitive Christianity; for "God," says he in this letter, "hath laid upon us, whom he hath honoured with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age and of ages to come." In this letter he "reminded those who professed the true faith, that, whatever trials had befallen them on account of such a profession, they had never been finally forsaken, but had found strength equal to their burthens. He admonished them, that, having once tasted the good word of God, they ought not to lose it and thus fall into temptation. He exhorted them, above all things, to esteem the cross of Christ, to crucify themselves as to the world, to disentangle themselves of its cares and vanities; not to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, but to redeem their time: such as were

were rich he advised not to heap up their riches, but to keep themselves in moderation, and to do good; such of them as were poor, not to murmur, but to be patient; and such as were then suffering, to persevere on account of the far more exceeding weight of glory, which was at hand."

Having left Frankfort, they arrived by the way of Worms at Krisheim. Here they held a meeting, notwithstanding the inspector of the Calvinists had ordered the Vaught or chief officer to prevent it. Of the persons then assembled a coach full of passengers from Worms made a part, among whom was a governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran priests. Hearing that the Elector Palatine of Heydelburg granted indulgence to those religious people within his dominions who could not conscientiously submit to the national worship, they went to Manheim to see him; but, not finding him at home, they returned to Krisheim. At a meeting there the next day "the divine power is said to have been sweetly opened to many." It appears that the Vaught himself, who had stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear but not be seen,

seen, was so impressed as to have carried a good report of it to his employer. In the evening another meeting took place; but this was a select one, consisting only of those who, in consequence of the visits of former Quakers, had adopted the principles of the society. And here it may be remarked, that in no place were the fruits of this early preaching more conspicuous than at Krisheim; for several of its inhabitants emigrated to Pennsylvania on the settlement of that country by William Penn, where many of their descendants are to be seen as Quakers at the present day.

From Krisheim they went, accompanied by several persons, to Worms, and from Worms to Mentz, and from Mentz to Frankfort again. Here they returned to their old quarters, visited their old friends, and held three meetings, of which one was a silent one for such as "had appeared to be more inwardly affected with Truth's testimony," and the other for all persons indiscriminately who would attend it.

Leaving Frankfort, and passing through Mentz, Hampuch, Bacherach, Coblentz, Tressy, and Cologne, at which last place they

they both visited individuals and preached, they arrived at Duysburg. The person friendly to them there was Dr. Maestricht, a civilian. On inquiring of him, "if there were not retired and seeking persons in the neighbourhood," he informed them that he knew a young Countess, the daughter of the Graef or Earl of Falckensteyn and Bruck, who answered this description. This, he said, was the very time to see her; for, being Sunday, she would spend the day at the house of the minister of Mulheim, which was on the opposite side of the river to her father's castle. He offered them a letter of introduction to her; but they must be shy of making themselves known, not only for their own sakes, but for that of the young lady, for that she had been severely treated by her father on account of the religious bias of her mind, though he pretended to be a Protestant. Upon this they set off; but they did not reach Mulheim till after she had returned home. They wrote her therefore a letter, which she answered by saying, that "she would most willingly come to them if she could, and that the minister's house at Mulheim should in that case be the place for

for conversing with them; but that she was not her own mistress." Soon after this, as they were walking near the castle, the Graef himself came out, and seeing them habited as strangers demanded who they were, and from whence they came. They replied, they were Englishmen arrived from Holland, and that they were going no further in these parts than to his own town of Mulheim. As they had not paid him the homage which was expected from them, some of his attendants asked if they knew before whom they were, and if they did not use to deport themselves in a different manner before Noblemen and in the presence of Princes. They replied, they were not conscious to themselves of any disrespect or unseemly behaviour. One of them sharply replied, Why do you not then pull off your hats? Is it respectful to stand covered in the presence of the Sovereign of the country? They told him it was their practice so to do in the presence of their own Sovereign, who was a great King, and that they never uncovered their head but in the performance of their devotion to the Almighty. Upon this the Graef said, We have no need of Quakers here.

here. Get out of my dominions. You shall not go to Mulheim. They told him they were an innocent people, who feared God, and had a good will towards all men; that they had a due respect in their hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any real good; but that it had become a matter of conscience with them not to conform to the vain and fruitless customs of the world. Upon this he ordered soldiers to take them out of his dominions. These, having done their duty, left them to pursue their course, which they did through a dreary wood of three miles; after which travelling on, they returned to the walls of Duysburg: but it being between nine and ten at night, the gates were shut, so that there was no admission for them. In this situation they waited in the fields till the morning, when they returned to their inn. William Penn, after his return there, wrote a letter to the young Countess, which he began thus: "Though thou art unknown to me, yet art thou much beloved for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God; the report whereof by some in the said estate hath made deep impression of true kindness upon

upon my spirit, and raised in me a very fervent and singular inclination to visit thee; and the rather because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of zeal towards God, myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world; the remembrance whereof hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me, and my soul hath often, in the sweet sense and feeling of the holy presence of God and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderness implored his divine assistance unto thee, that thou mayest be both illuminated to do and made willing to suffer for his name sake, that the Spirit of God and of Glory may rest upon thy soul." ——He concluded by explaining to her his opinion as to what were the true principles of the Christian religion, and by giving her encouragement to follow them. After this he wrote a letter to her father, of which the following is the introductory sentence: "I wish thee salvation, and the Lord reward good for the evil which thou showedst unto me

and my friends last night, if it be his will; but since thou art but a mortal man, one who must give an account in common with all to the immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee."——He then reasoned with him on the subject of his late conduct.

From Duysburg they proceeded to Utrecht. On going through Wesel on their way thither they held two meetings, which were well attended. At Rees they had a good opportunity with a counsellor, at Emric with an eminent Baptist preacher, and at Cleves with a lady of quality, and two persons of note, her visitors, with whom they dined. The lady is described to have been "a woman of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance, so that it was very difficult to obtain a true silence, a state in which alone she could be reached. In process of time, however, her spirit yielded, and the witness was raised in her, and they really and plainly beheld a true nobility in her, yea, that which was sensible of their testimony."

At Utrecht they parted company to go to different places; but William Penn, accompanied by P. Hendrick, proceeded to Amsterdam. He beheld with satisfaction the great increase

increase of converts in that city since he had left it. Having held two meetings, which were numerously and respectably attended, he visited Horn, Enckhuysen, Worcum, and Harlingen. At the latter place he met George Fox. He attended there two meetings, one for members of the society, and the other a public one, to which people of various religious denominations resorted, and among the rest a doctor of physic and a Presbyterian minister. All sat with great attention, but particularly the two latter, who were so impressed with the preaching of George Fox, that though they were obliged to leave the meeting, the one to deliver a sermon to his congregation, and the other to visit his patients, they could scarcely withdraw from it. The former, indeed, "as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to stay, sat at the door till Geoge Fox had done, and then stood up, and pulling off his hat, and looking up to Heaven, in a solemn manner and with a loud voice spake to this purpose: 'The almighty, the all-wise, the omnipotent great God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever, confirm his word that hath been spoken this day!'" Both of them,

however, when they had performed their engagements, returned to the place again.

William Penn, leaving George Fox, and taking J. Claus a converted Dutchman for his companion, went to Leeuwarden. The meeting there was largely attended, and consisted of persons who had never been present at one before. He then proceeded to Wiewart, a mansion-house of one of the Somerdykes, who were "people of great breeding and inheritances." In this mansion as in a college lived several persons, who made up a religious society or church of their own, and lived in love and harmony together. J. de Labadie, who was then dead, had established it. This person was once a Jesuit, but had deserted his order, and embraced the Protestant religion. Ivon was then the head pastor to this little flock, and Du Lignon his assistant. Among the occupiers of the mansion were three of the Somerdykes, daughters of a nobleman of that name to whom it belonged, and an ancient maiden lady of the name of Anna Maria Schurmans. The latter was about sixty years of age. She was of great note for learning in languages and philosophy, and had obtained a considerable place among the

the most learned men of that age. These then, with several others, having been affected by the discourses of De Labadie, and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship, had separated themselves from the common Calvinistic assemblies, and, having followed him in the way of a refined independency, had established themselves in this place. They formed altogether a serious and plain people, and approached near to the Quakers in many points, such as in silent meetings, women's exhortations there, preaching by the Spirit, and plainness both in their dress and in the furniture of their houses. William Penn, having heard of these singular people, had determined upon visiting them. On being introduced to Anna Maria Schurmans' apartments, he found almost all the party there. He was particularly anxious to know what it was that had induced them to separate from the common way in which they had formerly lived. Upon this Ivon began by giving the history of J. de Labadie's education and life. Anna Maria Schurmans followed, giving an account of her former life, of her conversion under the ministry of De Labadie, and of her present religious state. One of the Somerdykes related,

lated, next, her own spiritual experience. This she did in a reverent frame of mind, going over the same ground and touching upon the same points as the former. After her Du Lignon gave the reasons which had induced him to become a pastor there. A doctor of physic spoke next. Among other things he stated himself to have been bred up at the University for the Church; that he had studied there with the character of a serious person, but that he had never experienced a living sense of what divine things were till he heard J. de Labadie; and that in consequence he left the University and became one of the family at the mansion. ——William Penn was highly gratified with this narrative, and returned the civility by giving an account of his own life and conversion, labours, sufferings, and travels up to the present time, which he concluded by religious exhortation and advice. Rising up at length to depart, they gave him their hands in a friendly manner, and the two pastors and the doctor accompanied him to the post waggon which was to convey him the next stage.

After this he held two meetings, one at Lippenhausen, and the other at Groningen. From

From thence he went to Delfzyl, where he took boat for Embden. While on his passage there he wrote a letter, which is extant, "To Friends every where concerning the present Separatists and their Spirit of Separation." This alluded to a schism which had taken place on the subject of discipline among the Quakers in England. Having landed, he visited the mother and sister of the late Dr. Hasbert, who had been the first Quaker in that place. The society having been bitterly persecuted there and the members of it scattered by banishment, he called upon Dr. Andrews, President of the Council of State, who was reported to have been the author of such oppression. He informed him, that he was the Englishman who about two years before had written a Latin letter to the Council of Embden on that subject. He wondered how he, Dr. Andrews, "being a Commonwealth's man and a Protestant," could persecute for religion. He then argued the case with him, and this so successfully as to obtain a promise from him that he would use his interest with the Council, if he, William Penn, would address to them another letter.

The

The next place he went to was Leer, and afterwards Bremen. He visited four persons in this last city, and had a religious opportunity with others who were staying at his own inn.

After hard travelling for two days he arrived again at Herwerden, the residence of the Princess Elizabeth as before mentioned. Among those whom he met at her court was the Graef of Donau. They soon fell into conversation with each other. The points in discussion were the nature and end of Christianity, and the way which led to eternal rest. Both agreed, after a short debate, "that self-denial and mortification and victory therein were the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavour, of every true Christian." William Penn then gave the Graef some account of his retreat from the world, and explained his inducements to it, and the necessity of an inward work. After this the conversation turned, on the suggestion of the Graef, upon the custom of taking off the hat as a matter of respect. William Penn laboured to prove that this custom was a weed of degeneracy and apostasy, a carnal and earthly honour, and the effect as well

well as the feeder and pleaser of a vain mind. He showed, next, "wherein the sincere and serviceable respect consisted, which Truth substituted in the place thereof," and, finally, exhorted him to simplicity and humility of spirit. I shall only observe, that while he staid at Herwerden he held his religious meetings, and was treated with the same friendship and attention as before. In taking his leave, which was a final one, he was much affected. He bade farewell to the Princess, falling upon his knees, and asking the divine blessing for her preservation. He then tenderly exhorted the Countess, her companion, who implored his prayers in her behalf. He addressed himself next to the French lady of quality before mentioned, whom he desired to be faithful and constant to that which she knew. He then spoke to the rest, giving to each separately such advice as he judged to be suitable to their condition.

Getting into the post waggon, in company with his friend J. Claus, he resumed his travels. In this waggon, which was covered only by a ragged sheet, he rode three nights without lying down upon a bed, or sleeping. The passengers were much straitened for room,

room. Most of them, on the approach of evening, sung what were called Luther's hymns or psalms. This custom troubled him; for he had had occasion to observe that their conversation was generally very vain, and therefore he took an opportunity of testifying against it; "for to be full of all vain and often of profane talk in one hour, and to sing psalms to God in the next, was deceit and an abomination." As he proceeded through Lipstad, Ham, and other places, he and the passengers held discourses upon what was the nature of that religion and worship which was most Christian. At length after a continued journey of two hundred miles he was again at Wesel. Here, and at Duysburg, Dusseldorp, Cologne, and Cleves, he employed himself in visiting old friends, making new ones, and otherwise promoting the object of his journey.

At Amsterdam, where he arrived again by the way of Nimmeguen and Utrecht, he was engaged in a public dispute. Galenus Abrahams, the great father of the Socinian Menists in these parts, denied that there was any new Christian dispensation or apostolical commission then going on in the world

world by the instrumentality of the Quakers. This denial was to become the subject of discussion. Both parties went to the place of meeting, Galenus Abrahams attended by several preachers and others of his own congregation, and William Penn by George Fox and a body of Quakers. At length the dispute began: but all we know of it is, that it lasted from eight in the morning till one in the afternoon, and this successively for two days.

The meeting being over, he proceeded with George Fox by the way of Leyden to the Hague, and from thence to Delft, and from thence to Rotterdam. He employed himself, while in this city, in visiting Friends and friendly people; in holding public meetings, which were numerously and respectably attended; and in writing letters, which he intended to leave behind him on his return to England, in order that they might be printed and circulated throughout Germany. The first of these was "A Call or Summons to Christendom to prepare for the great and notable Day of the Lord, which was then at hand." He appealed through the medium of this Summons to different denomi-

denominations of persons; to Catholics; to Evangelicals or Gospellers; to the Reformed, including all the subdivided Sects; to degenerated, fallen, and titular Christians; to Kings and Princes; to Nobles; to Judges; to Lawyers; to Merchants; to Farmers and Country-People; and to Priests and Pastors. He exposed with great boldness the different failings of these, and endeavoured to impress upon them what belonged to their relative situations in life. His language was clear, nervous, and animated. It was enriched by metaphor and scriptural expressions, and manifested the pen of a ready writer. The second was "An Address, by way of Advice, to those who were sensible of this Summons or Call, wherever scattered throughout the World." He exhorted these to dwell in the Spirit which God had begotten in their hearts; to be careful, having once come out of the world, to keep out of it; to beware of, and therefore to examine, their own thoughts and imaginations; to watch against their own will, that it might be kept under due subjection; to be frequent in waiting upon God; not to be discouraged or overpowered by afflictions or persecutions, but

but to hold fast to Christ. On each of these topics he enlarged in a spiritual manner. The third was "An Address to those Professors of Christianity who separated themselves from the visible Sects or Churches of the Times;" and the fourth "A tender Visitation to those, but particularly among the High and Low Dutch Nations, who desired to know and worship God in Sincerity and Truth; containing a plain Testimony to the ancient and apostolical Life, Way, and Worship, which God was then reviving in the Earth." Of the contents of the two latter I must leave the reader to judge by their titles.

Hearing that a nobleman, a man of serious and retired habits, lived at the village of Wonderwick, he and G. Fox made an excursion to visit him. The nobleman, on learning their errand, invited them in. His house was stately, but yet plain. On receiving them he shook them by the hand, and bad them welcome. As soon as they were properly seated, he gave them a sober and pathetic account of his life and religious experience. When this was over, he took them into another room, where he introduced them

them to his wife, under the name of some Christian Friends who had come to see her. She received them kindly. Having sat in silence for some time after the manner of the Quaker ministers, William Penn delivered a discourse. He began by proving the proposition, that death had reigned from Adam to Christ. He then explained what Christ's day was. He showed, next, that though this day had come, there were but few who had seen it. He then pointed out the way which led to Christ, and what it was to be in him, and under the government of his grace; "directing them to the blessed principle, which God had shed abroad in their hearts;" and concluded by declaring the nature and manner of the appearance and operation of this principle, and by appealing to their own consciences for the truth of it. This discourse appears to have had a powerful effect upon the hearers, and even upon William Penn himself; for he was so affected by what had come unexpectedly from his own mouth, that he felt himself constrained to kneel down and pray. "Great brokenness," says he, "fell upon all, and that which was before the world began

was

was richly manifested in and among us." The nobleman and his wife then blessed their visitors, and the work which was in their hands. They considered, they said, their house as blessed for their sakes, and expressed great thankfulness that they had lived to see them.

Returning to Rotterdam, he held two meetings, the one a public one, in which he took leave of the country; and the other a select one, that is, for those of the society only, whom he exhorted earnestly to grow up as a holy people. After this he proceeded to the Brill, and from thence went on board the packet. During the whole passage there was a dreadful storm of wind, rain, and hail intermixed. The weather was entirely against them, and the vessel so leaky, that, unless two pumps had been going night and day, it must have foundered. There were also many passengers on board, so that they were in each other's way. Some of the seamen were near being washed overboard. At length they arrived at Harwich, but not till after they had been three nights and two days at sea. Here, says he, it was observable, speaking of the passengers, that, "though

"though they had experienced such wonderful preservation, some of the inconsiderate soon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and conversation, not abiding in the sense of that hand which had delivered them."

After landing at Harwich, he rode on horseback to London, stopping, and attending several meetings in his way. He staid also in London a few days for the same purpose. He then went down to his seat at Worminghurst in Sussex, where he arrived after an absence of about three months and ten days, and after a journey in the service of the Church of nearly three thousand miles within that period. He had the pleasure, to use his own words, "to find his dear wife, child and family well. Blessed be the name of the Lord God of all the families of the earth!" And here, as a proof of the constantly pious frame of his mind, and of his constant thankfulness to the Divine Being for benefits already received, and of his reliance upon him for those to come, it must not be omitted, that on the afternoon of his arrival he assembled all his family for worship, thus making the first fruits of his domestic

mestic meeting an oblation to the Father of all mercies. This little meeting is described by him to have been "a sweet meeting, in which the divine presence made them glad together," and in which he was sensible, whatever sacrifices he had made by his journey, that "they were blessed who could cheerfully give up to serve the Lord."

Having reposed for two or three weeks with his family, he went to London, from whence he addressed a letter to John Pennyman on the subject of his apostasy. In about a month after this we find him at Bristol. Here he, G. Fox, C. Marshall, and others, held the great dispute with William Rogers, and some of the separatists, on the subject of church discipline. Rogers who was a merchant of Bristol, and who had joined the society, had attacked Robert Barclay's "Anarchy of the Ranters," and had been so defeated by the reply, as to have acknowledged his error under his own hand. Notwithstanding this, he had afterwards published his objections to the same work, and had been defeated by R. Barclay again. Not even yet satisfied, he had lately circulated papers on the same subject, and this it was

that at length brought him to such a public settlement of the affair between them.

After the controversy, William Penn returned to London, and from thence to Worminghurst. While he was at home, he wrote letters to his friends in Germany, which have been preserved, such as to J. Claus, and P. Hendricks, who were in part companions of his late travels, and to others who belonged to the Quaker-Churches, which had been established there. I see no occasion to lay these letters before the reader, for they are mostly of the same cast. He makes one general use of them, namely, to encourage his friends, as young persons or beginners in the faith, to put them in mind of the great principle on which they became a religious society, and to recommend to them peace and union with each other.

CHAPTER XIV.

A. 1678—*continues his management of West New Jersey —sends two other vessels there—petitions Parliament in behalf of the persecuted Quakers—is heard by a committee of the Commons—his two speeches before them—remarks upon these—writes "A brief answer to a false and foolish Libel"—also "An Epistle to the Children of Light in this Generation."*

WILLIAM PENN continued active in his station as a trustee for Byllinge. He had, as we have seen before, in conjunction with his colleagues, sent off Fenwick in the ship Griffith, accompanied by several families, to take possession of the land in West New Jersey, which had been purchased of the Lord Berkeley. This was in 1676. In the last year, 1677, he had dispatched commissioners, and three vessels, carrying no less than four hundred and fourteen passengers, proprietors, with their servants and children, to the same parts. In the early part of the present year, he was employed in the same manner. He had influence to freight two other ships, one from London, and the other from Hull, with persons on the same errand; so that now about eight hundred settlers,

mostly Quakers and persons of property and character, had set sail for the new land.

But while he was thus occupied in the arrangement of these his foreign concerns, his attention was called to the situation of things at home, and particularly as they related to his own religious society. In the early part of this year, the different acts which had been enacted against the Roman Catholics, began to be enforced with extraordinary rigour. Only a few years before, the great fire in London had taken place, the cause of which had been imputed to them. The fires on St. Margaret's Hill, and in Southwark, which followed, had been attributed to them also. And now, to add to the public consternation, a design of a most wicked and mischievous nature was said to have been discovered, which, on account of its nature and intended effects, was denominated The Popish Plot. Under these circumstances both the Parliament and the people were so incensed against the Roman Catholics, that all the laws which had been passed against them were pressed to their full length. Hence it happened that the Dissenters, against whom these laws were never intended,

tended, became unexpectedly the objects of them; for wherever Roman Catholicism was suspected, it was sure of being put to the test. Now it happened that William Penn was considered by many to be *a Jesuit*, and this circumstance gave occasion to these to consider the Quakers, to whom he belonged, in the same light. Hence almost immediately they experienced the same severe prosecutions in the Exchequer as the Roman Catholics for penalties of twenty pounds a month for absence from the national worship, or of two thirds of their estates for the like offence, though there was actually no existing law against them. The evil then, as may be well supposed, where so many might be suspected, had been carried to an alarming length, of which the Parliament itself had indeed become so sensible, that it took under its consideration a distinguishing clause in the bill against Popery, or a clause for the discrimination of Protestant Dissenters from Papists, so that they who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration therein contained, should not suffer by such laws. Now this measure, though reasonable in itself, and sufficient as it related to other Dissenters, was of no

use

use to the Quakers; for, being unable on account of their religious tenets to swear at all, they had not even the door, which was intended them, for their escape. William Penn therefore drew up a petition in their behalf, which was presented to both Houses of Parliament, in which he set forth their hard case, and requested that in the discriminating clause then in agitation, the word of a Quaker might be taken instead of his oath, with this proviso, that if any one of that description should utter a falsehood on such an occasion, he should be liable to the same punishment as if he had taken a false oath.

The petition having been presented, he was admitted to a hearing before a Committee of the House of Commons, when he addressed the members of it in the following manner:

"If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and this to every sober and private inquirer, certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great

great an authority, what is not our hope; especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and when we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings, for so must every man needs be, who suffers mutely under another character than that which truly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse which I have received above any other of my profession; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope; a man dedicating my endeavours to the interest and advancements of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that, what with one thing and what with another,

another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom: all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design *were not to reform, but to destroy us;* and this *not for what we are, but for what we are not.* It is hard that we *must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration.* But mark: I would not be mistaken. *I am far from thinking it fit,* because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, *that Papists should be whipped for their consciences.* No: for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that *any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves;* for we have good will to all men, and would *have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand.* And I humbly take leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified do not seem

seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration. To conclude: I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that (the Roman Catholic) profession in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them, but, first, to pay that regard we owe to the inquiry of this Committee, and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws which, we humbly conceive, were never made against us."

Such was the speech of William Penn, and such was to be expected from him, if he remained faithful to his former principles. They who declaim for liberty at home, but yet who would be friends to slavery in other lands; or they who, while they make a noise about liberty civil and personal, would yet impose fetters on the religious freedom of the mind, show at once the inconsistency of their opinions, as well as that these proceed from a corrupt source. The true friend to liberty, on the other hand, who collects his notions concerning it from the

the pure and sacred fountains of truth and justice, feels no spirit of exclusion in his breast. That portion of it which he enjoys himself he wishes to be communicated to others. He confines it not to climate. He limits it not to complexion or colour, but he is anxious that it should fly from region to region, and extend itself, under a rational control, from the meridian to the poles. Such was the disposition manifested in this speech. William Penn had the courage to declare, and this before persons in authority, who could have no pleasant feelings towards those who should be well disposed to the Catholics, what he had maintained during his life, *that it was unlawful to occasion others to suffer, even Catholics themselves, on account of a conscientious religious dissent.* This fundamental proposition, which extended to all, he *would not deny or falsify, either to relieve himself or his friends; nor did he or they wish to enjoy the privileges it contained at the expense or suffering of others*, much less that this their intercession for themselves *should occasion the Catholics to be marked afresh.* Bold as this language was, he offended no one: That which would have been of itself

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an offensive sentiment, was lost or overlooked in the nobleness of those which followed it. The Committee, on the other hand, heard him with extraordinary attention. Their attention indeed was such as to have made a more than ordinary impression upon him; and therefore, by way of grateful return, thinking he could do no less than unbosom himself to them on certain other subjects, (by which he and they whose cause he had then pleaded might be better known to them,) he addressed them a second time in the following words:

"The candid hearing our sufferings have received from you, and the fair and easy entertainment you have given us, oblige me to add whatever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a lie. I am sure I should chuse an ill time and place to tell it in; but I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here who have known me formerly. I believe they will say I was never that man: and it would be hard if, after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down in my retirement short of common truth.

"Excuse

" Excuse the length of my introduction; it is for this I make it. I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgement. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the Society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgement I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the

the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too: and therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against, (from whence the name Protestants,) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We chuse no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people; we are sure we are a peaceable people: yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish Recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.

" But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, namely, that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to that which we live under. I think it not amiss, but very reasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, and this I do with good conscience, in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe

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government to be God's ordinance; and, next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and the law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in *all its just laws*, and *wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases not to revile or conspire against the Government, but with Christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us*, and wait the better information of those, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and *I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any Government can be easier from the subjects of it.*

"I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill that this House hath put us upon this discrimination; that on the contrary we value it, as we ought to do, an high favour, and cannot chuse but see and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burthen we have not with more patience than injustice suffered but too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for

for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you."

This speech also had a considerable effect upon the Committee. Indeed nothing more agreeable could have been offered them at this juncture than the explanation now given. The Quakers at that time laboured under the suspicion, in common with other Dissenters, that they were hostile to the Government, and that they might therefore watch for an opportunity of destroying it. William Penn, to do away this suspicion, laid before them the creed of the Quakers on this subject. These, when called upon by magistrates to do what their consciences disapproved, refused obedience to their order. No threats could intimidate them. Satisfied with such refusal, they bore with fortitude the sufferings which followed, and left to their oppressors the feelings only of remorse for their conduct. By such means they performed their duty to God in a quiet and peaceable manner, that is, *they made no sacrifice of their just convictions, and yet they did not disturb the harmony of society or interrupt the progress of civil government by rebellion.* At this time then, when the nation had been convulsed by

by civil wars and commotions, when the Government had been frightened by reported plots and conspiracies, and when Dissenters of all descriptions were considered only as peaceable because the chains in which they were held prevented them from being otherwise, it particularly became the Committee to know, that they, whose petition was then before them, were persons who espoused the opinion in question. And here a wide field for observation would present itself, if I had room for stating those thoughts which occur on this subject, involving no less than the question, How far mankind, when persecuted by their respective Governments for matters relating to the conscience, have gained more advantages to themselves in this respect by open resistance, than by the Quaker-principle of a quiet and peaceable submission to the penalties which the laws inflict? To solve this we might look to the nature of the human mind, and then to examples from history. In taking a survey of the former, it would be obvious, that the oppressor for religion (and indeed every other oppressor) would become irritated, and rendered still more vindictive, by opposition; while,

while, on the other hand, his mind might be softened by the sight of heroic suffering. To resistance he would attach nothing but a common, or perhaps an ignominious character, whereas he might give something more than a common reputation, nay, even nobility, to patience and resignation under supposed injury. In punishing the man who opposed him, he would lose all pity; but his feelings might be called forth, where he saw all selfish notions done away, and the persecuted dying with satisfaction for a public good. Add to which, that he could not but think something of the cause for which men thus thought it worth their while to perish. In looking at historical example, that of the apostles would first strike us. Had they resisted the Government, or stirred up the multitudes, which attended them, to do it, they had lost their dignity and their usefulness. Their resistance had been a bar to the progress of their religion, whereas their suffering is universally confessed to have promoted it. The same may be said of those martyrs, after whom followed the Established Church; nay, of the very persons now in question; for to the knowledge,

which succeeding Governments had, that it was the custom of the Quakers never to submit to the national authority in matters of conscience, and yet never to resist this authority by force, it is to be ascribed, that at this moment they enjoy so many privileges. They are allowed to solemnize their own marriages. Their affirmation is received legally as their oath. Exceptions are always made in their favour in all Acts of Parliament which relate to military service. And this reminds me, that if this principle could be followed up, I mean generally and conscientiously, sources of great misery might be done away. For if the great bulk of mankind were so enlightened, either by scriptural instruction or divine agency, as to feel alike on the subject of any evil, and to feel conscientiously at the same time the absolute necessity of adhering to this principle as its cure, no such evil could be perpetrated by any Government. Thus, for example, if war were ever to be generally and conscientiously viewed in this light, how could it ever be carried on for ambitious or other wicked purposes, if men could be forced neither by threats, impri-

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sonment, corporal suffering, nor the example of capital punishments, to fight? I do not mean here, if a common combination were to take place for such a purpose, that such an effect would be produced. A combination, the result of mere policy, could never have in it sufficient virtue to stand the ordeal to which it might be exposed on such an occasion. It must be a general harmony of action, arising out of a vivid sense of the evil in question, and out of a firm conviction at the same time, that this was the remedy actually required as a Christian duty, and that no other was allowed. In this point of view Christianity contains within itself *the power of removing the great evils of wicked Governments, without interrupting those other parts of their system which are of essential use to the good order, peace, and happiness of mankind.*

But to return. The two speeches of William Penn, as now quoted, made a favourable impression on the Committee, so that hey agreed to insert a clause in the Bill hen in agitation for relief in the case comlained of. This clause they reported to e Commons, and the Commons actually

passed it. It was afterwards carried to the Lords; but a sudden prorogation of Parliament taking place before the Bill could be read a third time, the clause was rendered useless.

I find two publications by William Penn in this year. An anonymous person had written "The Quakers' Opinions." This book contained a collection of the different religious tenets which the author supposed the Society to entertain, and quotations from the writings of Fox, Whitehead, and others, in confirmation of the same. William Penn wrote an answer to it, to which he affixed only the name of "A brief Answer to a false and foolish Libel." His other publication was "An Epistle to the Children of Light in this Generation." It was dated from Worminghurst, and written entirely on occasion of the times; for people's minds continued still in a state of alarm on account of the Popish plot. There were then apprehensions also about a French invasion: there was a belief, in short, that some dreadful storm was about to burst upon the nation. William Penn therefore, anticipating that the members of his own

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Society might partake of the popular uneasiness, and that, by thus admitting earthly cares and fears, they might lose that heavenly Spirit which would best fit them to meet the distress which was coming on, wrote them this letter. He exhorted them in it as an highly professing people, that is, as the Children of Light in this Generation, to show an example worthy of this their high calling, to throw away as so much dross the fears, anxiety, and uneasiness of the world, to mount the watch-tower, to be in a state of preparation, and so to live in righteousness, as to be enabled to stand in the gap between the wickedness of the nation and the vengeance of God, confiding in him alone as their only solid support in time of trouble.

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CHAPTER XV.

A. 1679—*continues his management of West New Jersey—writes "An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions"—general contents of this work—writes a Preface to the Works of Samuel Fisher—also "England's great Interest in the Choice of a new Parliament"—assists Algernon Sidney in his election for Guildford—two of his Letters to the latter—writes "One Project for the Good of England"—general contents of this work.*

In 1679 I find nothing recorded of William Penn relative to the management of his American concerns. The truth is, that almost every thing necessary for the peopling of West New Jersey having been agreed upon and executed by him and his colleagues, the lands having been mostly laid out and disposed of, and the political constitution of the colony fixed, he had then little more to do than to extend to it his protecting vigilance.

With respect to affairs at home, the nation was still restless and uneasy on account of the fear it entertained of designs for subverting the Protestant religion and restoring Popery. In the preceding year William Penn, observing this its agitated state, had, as I have

have just stated, written an epistle to those of his own religious Society to prepare them against the calamities which were supposed to be then approaching. In the present he appealed to those of other religious denominations on the same subject. His appeal was entitled "An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions upon the present Conjuncture, more especially to the Magistracy and Clergy for the Promotion of Virtue and Charity." The contents of this book were peculiarly important, as the reader will perceive by the following specimen of its contents:

He began by stating what he conceived to be the great and crying sins of the day, that is, those which were then most notoriously prevalent. Upon each of these he dilated as to their nature and tendency; and then, addressing himself to the magistracy and clergy, he exhorted these to examine themselves respecting the same, and to use the authority with which they were armed to discourage them in others.

He then stated the objects of his address. The first of these was, that God might be glorified. The second, that the Government might

might be preserved; which could not but be weakened, where so much wickedness prevailed. In handling the latter topic he made use, among others, of the following observation: "No Government," says he, "without the preservation of virtue, can maintain its constitution, though it be the very best that can be made. And however some particular men may prosper, who are wicked, and some private good men may miscarry in the things of this world, in which sense things may be said to happen alike to all, to the righteous as to the wicked, yet I dare boldly affirm and challenge any man to the truth thereof, that in the many volumes of the history of all the ages and kingdoms of the world, there is not one instance to be found, where the hand of God was against a righteous nation, or where it was not against an unrighteous nation first or last; nor where a just Government perished, or an unjust Government long prospered. Kingdoms are rarely as short-lived as men, yet they also have a time to die; but as temperance giveth health to men, so virtue gives time to kingdoms; and as vice brings men betimes to the grave, so nations to their ruin."

ruin." Having made this assertion, he supported it by a vast chain of historical evidence, drawn from the first kingdom of antiquity under Nimrod, and continued through many others to the last, which was Rome itself. From ancient he then proceeded to modern history, that is, he completed his facts relative to the same assertion, by continuing the chain through those nations which sprung up after the fall of Rome, down to his own times.

The third object of his address was, that posterity might be benefited. He observed here, among other things, that "there were few parents so vicious as not to dislike to see their children so; and yet nothing appeared plainer to him, than that as the former left the Government at their death, so the latter would find it. It were far better that the world ended with the parents, than that these should transmit their vices, or should sow those seeds which would ripen to the ruin of their children, and fill their country with miseries, when they themselves were gone."

Having finished his address, as it related to the great and prominent immoralities,

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he proceeded to the great and prominent errors of the day. The first great and prominent error was that *of making opinions articles of faith, and of making them at the same time the bond of Christian communion.* By opinions he meant propositions formed by men from their own interpretation of the Scriptures, but which were neither expressly laid down in Scripture, nor yet often well deducible from it; that is, not so evidently deducible from it, as not to be doubtful to many who were yet sincere believers of the text. These propositions, he said, were expressed, not in the language of Scripture, but often in the sophistical terms of the schools, so that they were frequently unintelligible, and became therefore a bone of contention to many, and unhappily according as men received or denied them they were honoured or disgraced. Here he noticed, among other things, the great noise which had been made about the Greek word Episcopos. He who maintained that it signified a higher office than the Greek word Presbuteros, was to have no fellowship with one party; and he who maintained the contrary, was considered as a degrader of epi-

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episcopal dignity, and was to be punished by the other. From hence he passed to the divisions, heats, and animosities, which the debates about free will, election, and reprobation had produced in the kingdom. Under Archbishop Abbot one set of ideas had prevailed upon these subjects, and under Archbishop Laud another, so that men had been reputed Heretics in turn, and fit only for excommunication as they received the one or the other. He proceeded then to the Synod of Dort; then to the flame kindled in Holland between Arminius and Episcopius for the Remonstrants, and Gomarus, Sibrandus, and others, for the Predestinarians; then to disputes about Easter Day, as if men's eternal happiness had been involved in this question; then to the tragical story of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Arius his priest; and then to the anathemas, banishments, wars, and bloodshed, which followed upon the question, whether the Greek word Homousia or Homoiousia should be received for faith. Among the observations made upon some of the foregoing points, I shall notice the following: ——"We must do violence to our understandings,

standings, if we can think that the men *who hated their brethren and shed one another's blood*, could be *true followers* of that Jesus who loved his enemies, and gave his blood for the world."——"But how easily might all these confusions have been prevented, if men's faith about Christ had been delivered in the words of Scripture, since all sides pretend to believe the text? And why should any man presume to be wiser or plainer in matters of faith than the holy Spirit?"——"Are not things come to a sad pass, that to refuse any other terms of expression than those which the holy Spirit hath given us, and which are confessed to be the rule or form of sound words, is to expose a man to the censure of being unsound in the faith, and unfit for the Christian communion? Will nothing do but man's comment instead of God's text? or man's consequences and conclusions in the room of sacred revelation?"——"All this while (says he) the head is set at work, not the heart; and that which Christ most insisted upon is least concerned in this sort of faith and Christianity, and that is *keeping his commandments;* for it is *opinion*, not *obedience*, it is *notion*, not *regeneration*,

tion, which some men pursue. This kind of religion leaves them as bad as it finds them, and worse, for they have something more to be proud of. Here is a creed indeed, but of what? of the conclusions of men. But what to do? to prove that they believe in Christ, who it seems never made them. It had been happy for the world, if there had been no other creeds than what Christ and his apostles gave and left; and it is not the least argument against their being needful to Christian communion, that Christ and his apostles did not think so, who were not wanting to declare the whole counsel of God to the Church."

The second great and prominent error was that of mistaking the nature of true faith, or *of taking that for faith, which was not Gospel-faith.* Here he laid down what he conceived the Gospel-faith to consist of. He then entered into a long discussion in behalf of his own position; but as this was a regular dissertation in a connected chain, I cannot give one part of it without another, and to give the whole of it, would be to take up all the remaining part of this volume.

The third great and prominent error was that

that *of debasing the true value of morality, under the pretence of higher things.* It was the custom, he said, to *decry men of moral lives,* even those who feared God and worked righteousness, *because they were not of a particular faith.* Such men were considered as mere general believers. Their faith was thought not to be properly circumscribed, but to be too much at large. He inveighed against this custom. He ridiculed the notion that a man who repeated his creed by heart was sure of being within the pale of salvation, however profane his life, while another was denied and esteemed dead, whose life was upright, if he happened not to be so well skilled in what may be called the mysteries of the Christian religion. They who maintained this notion denied in fact that morality was a part of Christianity, or that virtue had any claim to grace. They mistook one of the great ends of Christ's coming, which was, as St. Paul to the Romans says, to deliver from actual sinning, and to give newness of life to the souls of men; or, as the same apostle to Titus has it, to redeem men from all iniquity.

The fourth great and prominent error was

was *the preferring human authority above reason and truth.* But here it is impossible to follow him for want of room through his voluminous observations on this subject. I shall therefore do little more than explain the proposition, which may be worded thus: "The conclusions of men from sacred writ, whether in synods or other assemblies, have been thrown into creeds, and imposed upon men as bonds of external communion. Now the text, from whence these conclusions were drawn, must, as having been delivered by inspiration, be more true than the conclusions themselves. Hence, wherever these conclusions have been set up as dogmas beyond the text itself, it will follow, that human authority has been preferred above reason and truth." This part of the essay related in a great measure to the power of the clergy, and the people's reliance upon them for their knowledge of religion and the way of life and salvation. Such a state of things he deprecated. He contended that the keys of heaven were not given to them exclusively, that their dogmas or authority should be preferred above reason and truth. It must be observed, however, when he referred to the

the clergy, that he had generally in his eye those of the Church of Rome. He concluded this part of his address by expressing a hope, that *only that which the Scriptures themselves suggested to every one, might be the common creed of men*, and that *pious living* might become *the test of their value as moral beings*.

The last great and prominent error was *the propagation of faith by force*. He began his refutation of this error by asserting, that cruel laws had been made against men for no other crime than that of dissenting from the national worship, and that these laws had been executed in a most unmerciful manner. Having established this proposition, he divided his subject into two parts,—into Cæsar's authority, and the power of the Church in things which related to faith and conscience. This was the division, he said, which Christ himself made on the same subject in those memorable words, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's."

He defined next what were the things which belonged to Cæsar. These were, to love justice, to do judgement, to relieve the oppressed,

oppressed, to right the fatherless, and to be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them who should do well. The evil-doers were thieves, adulterers, murderers, and they who violated the laws, which were for the preservation of civil society, and not persons of good lives, who happened to differ from the creed of the National Church. Whenever Cæsar meddled with what did not belong to him, *he confounded his own things with the things of God.* Thus he confounded divine worship with civil obedience, and Church with State. He erected new measures, by which to try the members of worldly societies, and gave occasion to another power than that which was necessary to the constitution of civil government. Such a conduct, he maintained, was pernicious. It made property floating and uncertain; for it was then both the cry and the practice, "No conformity to the Church, no property in the State." It made a man owe more to Church than to State; for the anchor, by which he rode, was not his obedience to laws relating to the preservation of civil society, but conformity to the doctrines of the Church. It weakened Cæsar's own state,

because it irritated so many of his subjects against him. It was contrary to the universal goodness of God, whom Cæsar ought to imitate, and who was found to dispense his sun, light, air, and showers to all. It barred up heaven against all further illumination; for, let God send what light he pleased, Cæsar's people could not receive it without Cæsar's licence. It tended to stifle and punish sincerity. It led directly to Atheism, because it extinguished the sense of conscience for worldly ends. Of such a conduct he observed further, that the very conformity, to which it tried to enforce men, did not make them better livers, nor was this conformity necessary to salvation. Add to which, that such a conduct had never yet obtained its own end.

He then proceeded to the things which belonged to God. He defined what a New Testament or Scripture-Church was. It was, as far as it might be called visible, a society of people professing and practising according to the doctrine and example of Christ and his apostles, and not according to the Scribes and Pharisees, who taught for doctrine the traditions of men. It consisted,

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in fact, of persons who were meek in heart, lowly in spirit, chaste in life, virtuous in all conversation, long suffering and patient, and not only forgiving but loving their very enemies. With respect to the power of such a Church, he observed that it was not worldly. Christ would not allow fire to be called down from heaven, but rebuked those who desired it, for their revengeful spirit. He allowed the tares to grow up with the wheat. He said there were not many masters (in his Church), *but one*. He gave his Church power to bind and to loose, but not to bind *with fetters*. He ordered every offender belonging to it to be treated as a Heathen, but said nothing of *fines, whips, stocks, and imprisonment*. The apostles maintained the same doctrine. No man was to judge the servant of another. To his own lord he was to stand or to fall. The flock of God was to be fed, but not *by constraint*. Where the Spirit of the Lord was, there was liberty; but *where chains, pillories, and gaols were, there could be none*. Men were to avoid foolish questions and genealogies, *and contentions and strivings about the law*. An Heretic after the first and second admonition

was to be rejected, that is, *not banished from his native land*, but denied communion with the flock. By Heretic the apostle meant a self-condemned person, that is, "one who was subverted, and had sinned, and who *was condemned* (by or in) *himself*." But Dissenters were not of this latter cast. They were not *self-condemned*. They were not *conscious to themselves of religious errors*.

The remaining part of this address consisted of observations on the causes of religious persecution. The first of these he apprehended to be *a want of true religion*; that is, the authors and promoters of such persecution had little or no religion at heart. ——The second was a misapprehension of the word religion.——The third was the gross but general mistake, under which people laboured concerning *the nature of the church and kingdom of Christ*.——The fourth lay in this, that men *made too many things necessary to be believed to salvation and communion*. Upon this he observed, that persecution *began with creed-making*.——The fifth was visible in the prejudice of education, and in that bias which tradition gave to those *who had never made their religion the religion*

religion of their judgement.——A sixth sprang from self-love, and the impatience of men under contradiction.——The last was, that holy living had then become no test among men, except against the liver; that is, he who could persuade his conscience to comply with the times, if he were ever so vicious, *was protected, if not preferred;* while a man of wisdom or sobriety of life, if a Dissenter, *was branded as a fanatic, and a factious and disloyal person.*

After this we find him a writer upon a smaller scale. He composed a preface to the works of Samuel Fisher then printing in folio. Samuel Fisher had been originally a clergyman of the Church of England. He became afterwards a Baptist preacher. Joining at length in society with the Quakers, he was apprehended with others of the same profession on the old score of religion, and died a prisoner on that account in 1665. His object therefore in this preface was to bear his testimony concerning the author, who had thus suffered martyrdom in behalf of what he believed to be the Truth.

At this time the ferment in the nation relative to the Popish plot continued as violent

lent as ever. Men's minds, whether Catholics or Protestants, were still unduly heated. In this situation of things, it happened that writs were issued for summoning a new Parliament. This circumstance, which afforded an opportunity to parties to try their strength, involved the nation in new anxiety, and added to the heat already described. William Penn therefore had no sooner finished the abovementioned preface, than he felt himself called upon to become a writer again. The result of his new labour was a small pamphlet, which he called "England's great Interest in the Choice of a New Parliament, dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors."

He proposed in this pamphlet, first, to pursue the discovery and punishment of the Popish plot; to remove and to bring to justice those evil counsellors and *corrupt and arbitrary ministers of state*, who had been so industrious *in advising the King to wrong measures*, and in alienating his affections from his people; to detect and punish the pensioners of the former Parliament, such a breach of trust on their part *being treason against the fundamental Constitution of the Government*; to secure

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to the nation the execution of its ancient laws by others, among which should be one *in favour of frequent Parliaments*, this being *the only true check upon arbitrary ministers, and therefore a measure which they always feared, hated, and opposed;* and to secure the people from popery and slavery, and to ease all Protestant Dissenters. He was of opinion that the King ought to be eased of his burthensome debts, in case these terms were complied with. He explained, secondly, to the electors the meaning of the words in the writs then issued. He laid before them their great fundamental rights and privileges, and then gave them his advice as to whom they ought both to choose and to reject. He would have no reputed pensioners, no officers at court, whose employment was at will or pleasure, no indigent, or ambitious, or prodigal, or voluptuous persons elected. He would have the old members returned only according to their former upright way of voting. Sincere Protestants he recommended as essentially necessary, and he hoped they would fix their choice upon men of large and liberal principles, and such as would not rob their other Protestant brethren

thren because they happened to differ from them in the doctrinal parts of the Christian religion.

Soon after the publication of this work the elections began: and here it will be proper to observe, that the Quakers from particular scruples do not interfere in matters of this sort either as eagerly or as frequently as other people. Some of them indeed do not even use their elective franchise at all. William Penn partook in some degree of the same scruples, and perhaps would have been satisfied with writing the pamphlet just mentioned, had there not been one man in the kingdom about whom he could not be indifferent at this crisis. This was the great Algernon Sidney. He had been acquainted with this distinguished person for some time, and had loved his character. Indeed in this very year he had acted in a case between him and Osgood, Mead, and Roberts. But now that the elections were begun, he could not control the wish he had to do him service in a department where he believed his free spirit and noble talents would be attended with good to his country. Accordingly he went to Guildford, where Colonel Sidney was then

then a candidate against Dalmahoy, who was one of the Court party. He procured him there several votes among those of his own religious profession. He accompanied him also to the hustings, where he interested himself with others. While in the act of encouraging these he was stopped by the Recorder, who, in order to make him odious, branded him publicly with the name of *Jesuit*. The latter, finding this attempt ineffectual, would have tendered him oaths, but that it was shown that it was then illegal so to do. Disappointed therefore in all his expectations, the Recorder had no resource left him but that of force, and using this he actually turned him out of court.

Though Colonel Sidney had a majority of voices, Dalmahoy was returned. The plea was, that the Colonel was not a freeman of Guildford. The election being over, William Penn returned to Worminghurst. Ruminating, in his way home, on all the base transactions which had taken place both before and at the meeting now mentioned, which it is foreign to my purpose to detail, he was of opinion that Colonel Sidney should

should petition against the return, and therefore the next day wrote him the following letter:

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I hope you got all well home, as I by God's goodness have done. I reflected, upon the way, of things past at Guildford, and that which occurs to me as reasonable is this, that so soon as the articles or exceptions are digested, show them to Serjeant Maynard, and get his opinion of the matter. Sir Francis Winnington and Wallope have been used on these occasions too. Thou must have counsel before the Committee; and to advise first upon the reason of an address or petition with them, in my opinion, is not imprudent, but very fitting. If they say that (the conjuncture considered, thy qualifications and alliance, and his ungratefulness to the House,) they believe all may amount to an unfair election, then I offer to wait presently upon the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Essex, Lord Halifax, Lord Hollis, Lord Gray, and others, to use their utmost interest in reversing this business. This may be done in five days, and

and I was not willing to stay till I come, which will be with the first. Remember the non-residents on their side, as Legg and others. I left order with all our interest to bestir themselves, and watch, and transmit an account to thee daily. I bless God, I found all well at home. I hope the disappointment so strange (a hundred and forty poll-men as we thought last night considered) does not move thee. *Thou, as thy friends, had a conscientious regard for England; and to be put aside by such base ways is really a suffering for righteousness. Thou hast embarked thyself with them that seek, and love, and choose the best things; and number is not weight with thee.* I hope it is retrievable, for to me it looks not à fair and clear election. Forget not that soldiers were made free three weeks ago in prospect of the choice, (and by the way they went, as we may guess, for Dalmahoy's sake,) and thyself so often put by, a thing not refused to one of thy condition. Of the Lower House the Lord Cavendish, and especially Lord Russel, Sir Jo. Coventry, Powell, Sayche-vrill, Williams, Lee, Clergis, Boskowen, Titus, men, some able, some hot (ardent) and fit to be nearly engaged in the knowledge of these

these things. 'Tis late, I am weary, and hope to see thee quickly. Farewell.

"Thy faithful Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

The Parliament had not been seated long after the election, before it was again dissolved. This, as it gave another opportunity to Algernon Sidney, so it brought fresh anxiety to William Penn on his account. He was grieved to think that such a man in such times should be excluded from the councils of his country. He therefore proposed to him to try Bramber, which was in his own county, and interested himself in paving the way for him to that borough. The following is one of the letters which he wrote him on this subject.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I am now at Sir John Fagg's, where I and my relations dined. I have pressed the point with what diligence and force I could; and, to say true, Sir John Fagg has been a most zealous, and, he believes, a successful friend to thee. But, upon a serious consideration of the matter, it is agreed that thou comest down with all speed, but that thou takest Hall-Land in thy way, and bringest

bringest Sir John Pelham with thee, which he ought less to scruple, because his having no interest can be no objection to his appearing with thee; the commonest civility that can be is all desired. The borough has kindled at thy name, and takes it well. If Sir John Temple may be credited, he assures me it is very likely. He is at work daily. Another, one Parsons, treats to-day, but for thee as well as himself, and mostly makes his men for thee, and perhaps will be persuaded, if you two carry it not, to bequeath his interest to thee, and then Captain Goreing is thy colleague; and this I wish, both to make the thing easier and to prevent offence. Sir John Pelham sent me word, he heard that thy brother Henry Sidney would be proposed to that borough, or already was, and till he was sure of the contrary, it would not be decent for him to appear. Of that thou canst best inform him. That day you come to Bramber Sir John Fagg will meet you both; and that night you may lie at Wiston, and then, when thou pleasest, with us at Worminghurst. Sir John Temple has that opinion of thy good reasons to persuade, as well as quality to influence

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the electors, that, with what is and will be done, the business will prosper; which, with my true good wishes that it may be so, is all at present from thy true Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Sir John Fagg salutes thee."

It may be proper just to observe, that Algernon Sidney was not chosen at this time, Sir John Pelham having previously made all the interest that was necessary for his (Algernon's) brother Henry, who followed a different line of politics, and who was afterwards Earl of Romney.

The elections having taken place, and the Parliament having at length been returned, William Penn published a book, which he addressed to it under the title of "One Project for the Good of England: that is, Our civil Union is our civil Safety." In this book he laid it down, that civil interest, using the word interest in a good sense, was the foundation and end of Civil Government; and then proceeded to show, that the preservation of that civil interest entire was also the preservation of Civil Government, insomuch that where the former was not preserved entire, the latter must needs decline.

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He maintained next, that all English Protestants, whether Conformists or Non-conformists, agreed in this, that they owed allegiance and subjection to the Civil Government of England; alone whereas the Catholics, owning another temporal power as superior to the Government they properly belonged to, made themselves the subjects, not of the Government under which they were born, but of the Government of the Pope. Hence, whatever restrictions the existing Parliament might think it right to put upon the latter, it was its duty to maintain the civil interest entire, as it related to Churchmen and Dissenters; for, it being to the advantage of both that the Pope should have no dominion in England, the Church-Protestant could not injure the Dissenting Protestant without weakening and destroying his own civil interest. Having discoursed largely upon this principle, he proposed as his one project, a certain public Declaration or Test, by which all Protestant Dissenters might be enabled to show that they were not Catholics. This Declaration, which he drew up himself, denied the Pope's right to depose any Sovereign, or absolve the subjects

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of such Sovereign from their allegiance. It denied him to be Christ's Vicar. It denied a purgatory after death, transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper, and the lawfulness and efficacy of prayers to saints and images. The Declaration was to be made in all the towns and parishes on a certain day. Ash-Wednesday was mentioned as not an improper day, because it was on that day that the Pope cursed all Protestants. Every abuse of this Declaration was to be punished. In stating this his project, however, I may observe, that he never spoke of the Catholics so as to call in question their religious rights. His only object was to show that, Churchmen and Protestant Dissenters having the same civil interest in the Government of England, the one ought not to oppress the other, and particularly for shades of difference as to their religious faith.

CHAPTER XVI.

A. 1680—*continues his management of West New Jersey —writes a preface to an anonymous publication—also to the works of J. Pennington—petitions Charles the Second for letters patent for a certain tract of land in America in lieu of the debt due by the Government to his father—his motives for soliciting the same.*

WILLIAM PENN, who in the last year had but little to do for Billynge with regard to West New Jersey, was called upon in the present to make considerable exertions in his favour. A duty of ten per cent had been laid by the Government of New York, and renewed in the year 1669, on all imports and exports at Hoarkill, now Lewis Town, at the mouth of the Delaware Bay. This duty had been exacted of all persons who had arrived and taken up their lands in West New Jersey, to their great grievance; and as these had now greatly increased, it had become considerable in its amount. The settlers therefore complaining to the trustees of Billynge, William Penn felt himself called upon to take a part on the occasion. He was aware that, if he succeeded in getting rid of this tax, it would be to the

detriment of his friend the Duke of York, and that he might even offend him on this account; but when he considered that his trusteeship involved in it a serious duty, and that the demands in question were unjust, he had no hesitation in pursuing the right path. Accordingly in conjunction with the other trustees he made a formal application to the Duke on the subject. The Duke referred the matter to the Council. There it lay for some time. The Council at length reported in favour of Billynge; for William Penn had made it appear that Billynge had purchased *the Government* of the country with the soil; that the country therefore ought not to be subject to any imposition of duties by the Government of New York; that the Duke of York having granted all his right to the said country to the assigns of Lord Berkeley, and the latter to Billynge, in as ample a manner as it had been granted to the Duke by the King, which was expressly "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instruments and forms of government, and magistrates fit and necessary for the territory aforesaid," with this limitation, "so always as the same be

be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereto," it was plain that the colony could not be of right subject to any laws or impositions but those made by itself or by Great Britain. The report having been thus made in favour of Billynge, Sir John Werden communicated it by the Duke's order to the Government of New York, after which the duty was discontinued. Having settled this matter, he returned to Worminghurst, where he spent the greatest part of the present year.

The persecution of the Quakers still going on, on account of their religion, during which some were whipped, others put in the stocks, and others banished; three books were published by an anonymous person, addressed to the King, Lords, and Commons, in their favour. The first of these was called "The Case of the People called Quakers stated in relation to their late and present Sufferings, especially upon old Statutes made against Popish Recusants." The second, "A particular Account of the late and present great Sufferings of the same upon Prosecutions against them in the Bishops' Court."

The third, "A brief Account of some of the late and present Sufferings of the same, for meeting together to worship God in Spirit and in Truth, upon the Conventicle-Act: with an Account of such as died Prisoners from the Year 1660 for several Causes." To each of these William Penn wrote an appropriate preface, which he signed, in conjunction with others, in behalf of his own religious Society.

He wrote also a Preface to the Works of Isaac Pennington, an eminent minister among the Quakers, which were printed in folio, and who died in this same year. Isaac Pennington by marrying the widow of Sir William Springett had become the father-in-law of William Penn. Knowing as the latter did the many virtues of the deceased, he took the opportunity of this publication to bear his testimony concerning them to the world.

In this year died his amiable friend, Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, who had received him so kindly when in Germany, and with whom he had kept up a correspondence till her death. This event is said to have affected him. He had indeed a true

a true regard for her; and two years after this, when he published his second edition of "No Cross, no Crown," he endeavoured to perpetuate her memory by inserting her name there among those, both of ancients and moderns, who by their serious living and dying had become the benefactors of mankind. He closed his eulogy concerning her in the following manner: "She lived her single life till about sixty years of age, and then departed at her own house at Herwerden, as much lamented as she had lived beloved of her people; to whose real worth I do, with a religious gratitude for her kind reception, dedicate this memorial."

After this he was occupied in winding up the affairs of his father with the Government. His father had advanced large sums of money from time to time for the good of the naval service, and his pay had been also in arrears. For these two claims, including the interest upon the money due, Government were in debt to him no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds. William Penn was desirous therefore of closing the account. He was however not anxious for the money. He wished, on the other hand,

hand, to take land in America in lieu of it, and therefore petitioned Charles the Second, that letters patent might be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie North of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the East by the Delaware River. It was to be limited on the West as Maryland was, and it was to extend Northward as far as it was plantable. It has been said that he was led to this step by his father, who before his death had received a good report of this tract from a relation, and who had received the promise of a grant of it by way of reimbursement from the Crown. But this is the assertion merely of a solitary writer, and is in other respects improbable; for William Penn came to a knowledge of it, far more accurate than any which could have been furnished him by his father, in consequence of constant communications concerning it from those settlers whom he himself had sent to West New Jersey, directly opposite to which it lay. Nor had he any desire to possess it from any views of worldly interest, such as his father might have entertained, but chiefly from the noble motive of doing good. Having acted as a trustee

trustee of Billynge for four years, he had seen what a valuable colony might be planted by a selection of religious families, who should emigrate and dwell together, and who should leave behind them the vicious customs and rotten parts both of the political and religious constitution of the Old World. In this point of view any payment of the debt in money would, as I have said before, have been nothing to him compared with the payment of it in American land: and that something like this was his motive for soliciting the grant in question, may be abundantly shown. Oldmixon, who was his contemporary, states, that, "finding his friends, the Quakers, were harassed over England by Spiritual Courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion." Anderson, who succeeded Oldmixon, speaks the same language. In his Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce he uses the following words: "The same year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America.

America.——Mr. William Penn, an eminent Quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time.——He designed it for a retreat or asylum for the people of his own religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of Spiritual Courts." Such is the statement of these writers. The truth however is, that he had three distinct objects in view when he petitioned for this grant. In a letter to a friend on this subject he says, " that he so desires to obtain and to keep the New Land, as that he may not be unworthy of God's love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and *serve his Truth and people*; that *an example may be set up to the nations*; *that there was room there* (in America) though not here (in England) *for such an holy experiment*."——Here then are two of these objects: for to *serve God's Truth and people* meant with him the same thing as to afford the Quakers the retreat from persecution mentioned; and by the words which followed these, it is clear he had a notion, that by transporting the latter he might be enabled to raise a virtuous empire in the New Land,

Land, which should diffuse its example far and wide, and to the remosest ages; an idea worthy of a great mind, and such only as a mind undaunted by difficulties could have hoped to realize. The third object may be seen in his petition for this grant; for in this he stated, that he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and *the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures* to Christ's kingdom. In short, his motives may be summed up in the general description of them given by Robert Proud, one of his more modern historians, and who had access to hundreds of his letters, and who spared no pains to develop his mind in the most material transactions of his life. "The views of William Penn," says he, "in the colonization of Pennsylvania were most manifestly the best and most exalted that could occupy the human mind; namely, to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could possibly bear in their civil capacity, and, in their religious state, to restore them to those lost rights and privileges with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race. This in part he effected, and by

by those means, which Providence in the following manner put into his hands, he so far brought to pass, as to excite the admiration of strangers, and to fix in posterity that love and honour for his memory, which the length of future time will scarcely ever be able to efface."

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVII.

A. 1681—*becomes a proprietor of East New Jersey—publishes "A brief Examination and State of Liberty spiritual"—writes "A Letter to the Friends of God in the City of Bristol"—obtains a grant of the tract solicited—substance of the charter for the same—named Pennsylvania by the King—his modest feelings at this name—publishes an account of Pennsylvania and the terms of sale—draws up conditions—his great care of the natives therein—draws up a frame of government—his great care of liberty of conscience therein—extract of his letter to R. Turner—sends off three vessels with passengers—and with commissioners—writes to the Indians by the latter—is elected a Fellow of the Royal Society—letter to R. Vickris.*

WILLIAM PENN was still indefatigable in promoting the interests of Billynge. By the influence he had in Ireland he sent off this year two vessels from that quarter freighted with settlers, most of whom were Quakers. A great part of these went from Dublin, and the rest from other parts of the country where he had been best known. As to Billynge himself, he prevailed upon the proprietors to make him Governor, and Samuel Jenings, a Quaker and an able minister of the Gospel, Deputy Governor of the colony. The latter went out also in the

the present year, and ruled it with so much virtue as to infuse strength into its infant-sinews, to the great advancement of its civil and moral growth.

While he was thus attentive to the welfare of West New Jersey, he became unexpectedly concerned for another colony. East New Jersey, of which Elizabeth Town was the capital, was sold this year according to the will of Sir George Carteret. This province was in good order, populous, and flourishing. He became the purchaser of it, but took in as partners R. West, T. Rudyard, S. Groome, T. Hart, R. Mew, T. Wilcox, A. Rigg, J. Haywood, H. Hartshorne, C. Plumsted, and T. Cooper. These soon afterwards admitted twelve others into the concern, James Earl of Perth, J. Drummond, R. Barclay the apologist, R. Gordon, A. Sonmans, G. Lawrie, E. Billynge, J. Braine, W. Gibson, T. Barker, R. Turner, and T. Warne. Of the twenty-four now mentioned all except two or three were Quakers. The partnership having been completed, William Penn published an account of the country, a fresh project for a town (Perth Amboy), and a method of disposing of such lands as remained unoccupied.

pied. His plan became popular, and many, but particularly the Scotch, accepted the terms which accompanied it.

At this time the difference of opinion, which has been before stated to have arisen among the Quakers relative to the establishment of a church-discipline among them, continued, and much to the interruption of the peace of the Society. They who were against the introduction of such a discipline contended that, the mind of man being acted upon and influenced by impressions from the holy Spirit, he had a sufficient guide in these, and that he ought therefore to be left to himself: but this discipline did not leave him to himself: it did not leave him free to conform himself to such impressions, but unduly biassed him, and subjected him to ecclesiastical authority. They, who took the opposite side of the question contended, that an unlimited liberty to man to follow all internal suggestions would lead him to anarchy and confusion, and would most assuredly be productive of evil. Among these discordant opinions William Penn published his own on this subject in a little tract, called " A brief Examination and State of Liberty

Liberty spiritual, both with respect to Persons in their private Capacity and in their Church-Society and Communion." In this he defined, first, what liberty spiritual was. He then stated in substance, that there were things ordinary and indifferent, and that men were not to wait for spiritual motions and notices for these, or expect such motions and notices in every trivial concern and affair of life: that there were, on the other hand, things positively enjoined them by God, which they were bound to perform; that, as far as the latter were concerned, they had no liberty or choice, but must be put under restraint: in fact, that there was a discipline for Christians; for there was no true liberty to these but by obedience to the law of Christ, nor any free man, but such as bore the yoke of Christ, and conformed himself to his will.

At this time a most severe persecution of the Quakers took place in Bristol, at the instigation of Sir J. Knight, sheriff, Ralph Oliffe, alderman, and John Helliar, attorney at law. These, accompanied by several others, went to their meeting-house at the Friars, and under a pretence of a fine of five pounds imposed

posed upon it for not sending out a man in arms to the trained bands, though it had never been imposed before, entered it, and broke the forms, windows, benches, and galleries. They then seized the house for the King. Having done this they departed, and made similar havoc in their meeting-house in Temple-street, even though no fine was pretended there. Not satisfied with what they had done, they watched their opportunities for further mischief. They followed the Quakers to other places where they met for religious worship, made conventicles of all these, and fined them accordingly. The fines levied upon T. Goldney, T. Jordan, T. Callowhill, R. Marsh, R. Snead, J. Love, C. Harford, C. Jones, R. Vickris and others amounted, being all doubled, to several hundred pounds. At other times they sent them to prison for pretended breaches of the peace, driving them there like cattle, the men to Newgate, and the women to Bridewell. To the latter no less than eighteen women were sent at one time, namely, Catherine Evans, Joan Haly, Elizabeth Harford, Margaret Thomas, and others. There were also at times not less than one hundred in the latter,

so that for want of room some were obliged to lie on the floor on whatever mats and beds they could get, and others in hammocks over them. In the very streets too they pursued them with the same bitter spirit, pulling off and throwing away the hats of the men in derision, and tearing the women's hoods and scarfs. They prosecuted also this year no less than fifty Quakers in this one city on the statute made against Popish Recusants for twenty pounds a month for absence from the national worship. These transactions, when they came to the knowledge of William Penn, overwhelmed him with grief. He knew not what to do. He had already promulgated the grievances of those thus persecuted, and this over and over again, by means of repeated publications. He had made them known to the King by letter. He had laid them also personally before the Legislature, and yet no legal redress had followed. He had therefore only the expedient left him, of which he availed himself, of addressing the unhappy sufferers in one common letter, which he called "A Letter to the Friends of God in the City of Bristol." This, he informed them, he wrote for their

Christian

Christian consolation and encouragement. He advised them, as the cruel laws of their country still existed, to submit to them with patience and resignation. He exhorted them not to be cast down, for there was food and nourishment in affliction; to remember the sufferings of the first Christians; their scourgings, mockings, and imprisonments; to endeavour by the assistance of God's holy Spirit to raise themselves above the fear or trouble of earthly things, and to look steadfastly to an inheritance incorruptible, which no human power could take away.

But to return to the Petition. It was presented, as I have before stated, to the King. I have now to observe, that the King, having read it, sent it to the Privy Council; and that the Privy Council, having considered its contents, sent it to the Lords Committee of Trade and Plantations. Great opposition was made to it in both places, and for no other reason than because William Penn was a Quaker. Several meetings took place, in which the objections of the Duke of York (by his agent Sir John Werden) as proprietor of a large tract of land in the

neighbourhood of that which was the object of the Petition, and those of Lord Baltimore as proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated. The advice too of the Chief Justice North and the Attorney-General Sir William Jones was taken on the subject of the grant. The matter at length ended in favour of William Penn; and he was by Charter, dated at Westminster the fourth of March 1681, and signed by writ of Privy Seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land which he had solicited and marked out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing the same.

This Charter consisted of twenty-three sections. In these the extent and boundaries of the new province were specified, and the free use of all ports, bays, rivers, and waters there, and of their produce, and of all islands, mountains, soils, and mines there, and of their produce, were wholly granted and given up to him. He was made absolute proprietary of the said territory, which was to be held in free and common soccage by fealty only, paying two beaver skins annually and one fifth of all

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the gold and silver discovered to the King, and the said territory was to be called Pennsylvania after his own name. He had the power of making laws with the advice, assent, and approbation of the free men of the territory assembled for the raising of money for public uses; of appointing Judges and other officers; and of pardoning and reprieving, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases reprieve was to be granted only till the pleasure of the King was known, who also reserved to himself the right of hearing appeals. He had the power also in new and sudden circumstances, where the free men could not be suddenly and conveniently assembled, of making ordinances, which, however, were to be agreeable to reason and not repugnant to the laws of England, or to be extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of persons for, or in, their lives, members, freeholds, goods, and chattels; and all property as well as felonies were to be regulated by the laws of England, until the said laws should be altered by himself, or assigns, and the free men of the said province. Duplicates of all laws made

there were to be transmitted to the Privy Council within five years after they were passed; and if within six months after having been so transmitted such laws were not pronounced void by the said Council, they were to be considered as having been approved of and to be valid. Permission was given to English subjects to transport themselves to, and to settle in, Pennsylvania; to load and freight in English ports and transport all merchandize from thence to the said province, and to transport the fruits and produce of the said province to England on paying the accustomary duties. He had the power of dividing the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; of erecting and incorporating towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; of erecting manors, holding courts baron, and of having and holding view of frankpledge; of selling or alienating any part or parts of the said province, in which case the purchasers were to hold by his grant; of constituting fairs and markets; and of making ports, harbours, and quays, at which ports, harbours, and quays, and at which only, vessels were to be laden and unladen. All officers, however, appointed by the

the Farmers or Commissioners of the King's Customs were to have free admission thereto. He had the power of assessing, reasonably, and with the advice of the free men assembled, custom on goods to be laden and unladen, and of enjoying the same, saving however to the King such impositions as were and should be appointed by Act of Parliament. He was to appoint from time to time an Agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanour on his part against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanour, he was to make good the damage occasioned thereby within one year; in failure of which, the King was to seize the government of the said province and to retain it till the said damage was made good. He was not to maintain correspondence with any King or Power at war with England, nor to make war against any King or Power in amity with the same. In case of incursion by neighbouring barbarous nations, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all men in the said province, and to act as their Captain-General, and to make war upon and pursue the same. The King was ever to impose any tax or custom upon

upon the inhabitants of it, either upon their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, or upon any merchandize to be laden or unladen within it, unless by the consent of himself, or the chief Governor appointed by him, or by the Assembly, or by Act of Parliament in England. This Declaration was to be deemed by all the Judges in all the Courts of law to be a lawful discharge, payment, and acquittance; and no officer was to attempt any thing contrary to the premises, but to aid him, his heirs, servants, agents and others in the full use and enjoyment of the Charter. If any of the inhabitants to the number of twenty should signify their desire to the Bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, such preacher should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without any denial or molestation whatever. If any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any expression in the Charter, the interpretation of it was to be construed in a manner the most favourable to him and his heirs.

It may be proper to give here an anecdote of the modesty of William Penn, as it relates to the above Charter. On the day when it was signed he wrote to several of his

his friends to inform them of it, and among others to R. Turner, one of the persons mentioned to have been admitted as a partner in the purchase of East New Jersey. He says in this letter, that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in Council, his country was on that day confirmed to him under the Great Seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the King gave it in honour of his father. It was his own intention to have had it called New Wales; but the Under Secretary, who was a Welshman, opposed it. He then suggested Sylvania on account of its woods, but they would still add Penn to it. He offered the Under Secretary twenty guineas to give up his prejudices, and to consent to change the name; for he feared lest it should be looked upon as vanity in him, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to his father, whom he often mentioned with great praise. Finding that all would not do, he went to the King himself to get the name of Penn struck out, or another substituted; but the King said it was passed, and that he would take the naming of it upon himself.

He

He concluded his letter by hoping that God would make the New Land the seed of a nation, and by promising to use his own best endeavours to that end, by having a tender care to the government, so that it should be well laid at first.

The Charter having been signed, the King gave it his further authority by a Declaration, dated April the second, to all persons designing to become planters and inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This Declaration pointed out to them the boundaries of the new province, and enjoined them to yield all obedience to the proprietor, his heirs, and his or their deputies, according to the powers granted by the said Charter.

William Penn, having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of that of West New Jersey; but it was a matter of great satisfaction to him, that he had brought it from infancy to a state of manhood; to a state in which it could take care of itself. He had sent to it about fourteen hundred people, of whom the adults were persons of high character. The town of Burlington had been built. Farms had risen up out of the wild waste,

Roads

Roads had been formed. Religious meeting-houses had been erected in the place of tents covered with sail-cloth, under which the first settlers worshipped. A respectable magistracy had been established. The very Indians too in the neighbourhood had been turned into friends and benefactors. Such was the situation of West New Jersey when he took his leave of it, and therefore it was with the less regret he left it to attend to his own concerns.

The first thing he did, after obtaining the Charter, was to draw up "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn." To this Account he annexed a copy of the Royal Charter, and also the terms on which he intended to part with the land. It appears from these terms, that any person wishing to become a planter might then buy a hundred acres of land for forty shillings, but a quit-rent of one shilling was to be reserved to the proprietor for every hundred acres for ever. Thus, if a person had bought one thousand acres, he would have had twenty pounds to pay for them, and ten shillings per annum quit-rent,

rent. The reason of the latter sort of payment was this, namely, that whereas William Penn held of the King by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner, having no security or good title to their purchases but by such a mode of tenure. It appears also, that renters were to pay one shilling an acre yearly not exceeding two hundred acres, and servants were to have fifty acres when the time of their servitude expired, whether men or women, that quantity of land being allowed their masters for such purpose. He subjoined also to this Account of Pennsylvania his advice to those who were inclined to become adventurers, the latter part of which ran thus: "I desire all my dear countryfolks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle but from a solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such at least to have the permission if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural and

and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this, both natural affections and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved between them, in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours, and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity."

He drew up next "Certain Conditions or Concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province." These Conditions related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives, and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things it was stipulated in these, that no purchaser of ten thousand acres or more should have above a thousand acres lying together, unless in three years he planted a family upon every thousand of the same—— That every man should be bound to plant or man so much as should be surveyed and set out to him within three years after such survey,

survey, or else a new comer should be settled thereon, who should pay him his survey-money, and he himself should go up higher for his share——That in clearing the ground care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oaks and mulberries for silk and shipping.——In behalf of the Indians it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold *in the public market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked*—— That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, *affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow-planter*; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter *should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him*, who should to the utmost of his

power

power take care with the King of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter——And that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, *by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together*, as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.——These stipulations in favour of the poor natives will for ever immortalize the name of William Penn; for, soaring above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or as mere animals of the brute-creation, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren both by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his fatherly protection and care.

"The Account of Pennsylvania," which was

was before mentioned, and the "Conditions or Concessions," part of which have been just detailed, having been made known to the public, many purchasers came forward both in London and Liverpool, and particularly in Bristol. Among those in the latter city J. Claypole, N. Moore, P. Forde, W. Sharloe, E. Pierce, J. Simcock, T. Bracy, E. Brooks and others formed a company, which they called "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania." They purchased twenty thousand acres of land in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and prepared for embarking in many branches of the same. Other persons purchased also, and among these a great number of Quakers from Wales.

It was necessary, before any of the purchasers embarked, that they should know something of the political Constitution under which they were to live in the New Land as well as that it should be such as the approved. William Penn accordingly dre up a rough sketch, to be submitted to the opinion, of that great Frame of Governme which he himself wished to become future and permanent one of the provir

It consisted of twenty-four articles. These were preceded by what he called his first or great Fundamental, by which he gave them that liberty of conscience which the laws of their own country denied them, and in behalf of which he had both written and suffered so frequently himself. "In reverence," says he, "to God, the father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship toward God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the holy Scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate."

With

With respect to the articles of the Frame or Constitution, it is unnecessary to give them here, as the substance of them will be communicated in another place. It may be sufficient to observe, that the merchants and adventurers were well pleased with them, and that they unanimously signed them. Nor was William Penn less satisfied with himself, as having done his duty in proposing them, if we may judge from a second letter to R. Turner, which he wrote just at the time when he had resolved upon them. "I have been," says he, "these thirteen years the servant of Truth and Friends, and for my testimony's sake lost much; not only the greatness and preferment of this world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained. But I murmur not; the Lord is good to me, and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty

twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in Government, so it *is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege* (alluding to these articles), I purpose that which is extraordinary, and *leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country.*"

The Conditions and Frame of Government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania; two from London, and one from Bristol. It appears that the John and Sarah from London, Henry Smith master, arrived first; and the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew master, the next. The last vessel arrived at the place where Chester now stands. Here the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore; and here, the river being frozen up that night, they remained all the winter. The other London ship, the Amity, Richard Dimon master, was blown off with her passengers to the West Indies, and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year.

In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham. He was a relation of William Penn, and was to be his secretary when he himself should arrive. He was attended by several Commissioners, whose object was to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to endeavour to make with them a league of eternal peace. With this view they were enjoined in a solemn manner to treat them with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. They were the bearers also of a letter to them, which William Penn wrote with his own hand, and of which the following is a copy:

"There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

"This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the King of the country where I live hath given me a great

great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction

tisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

"I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am your loving Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

About this time William Penn was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had before been acquainted with the celebrated Dr. John Wallis, who had been one of the chief instruments in founding it; but in the present year he wrote him a letter, in which he expressed to him the satisfaction he felt on hearing of the progress of the Institution, as well as the high opinion he entertained of the advantages which would result to science

science from its labours, and in which (now going out to Pennsylvania) he offered to contribute to its usefulness to the utmost of his power. It is probable, from this letter, that Dr. Wallis was the person who nominated him to the above honour.

Among the letters which he wrote this year to private persons, I shall select one, on account of the simplicity and beauty of expression, as well as holy feeling, which pervade it. Robert Vickris, who lived at Chew in Somersetshire, had a son, Richard, who became a Quaker, and afterwards an eminent sufferer in that society. His father, however, still adhered to his own religion; but he did not persecute his son for having left it. This made such an impression on William Penn, who had suffered so much from his father on that account, that he loved Robert as a brother, and was anxious above measure for his spiritual welfare. Soon after leaving Bristol, whither he had been in the autumn to establish "The Free Society of Traders to Pennsylvannia" before spoken of, and where he had again seen Robert, he wrote him the following short letter:

"DEAR

"DEAR FRIEND,

"In my dear and heavenly farewell to the city of Bristol thou wert often upon my spirit, and the wishes of my soul are, that the Lord would abundantly fill thee with the consolations of his holy Spirit, and that the days thou hast to pass on this side of the grave, thou mayest be fitting for his coming, that comes as a thief in the night, that *at what watch of the night soever it be, thou mayest awake with his likeness, and enter the rest that is eternal. So the Lord more and more gather thee out of every visible, fading thing, and prepare thee for himself!* Dear Friend, be faithful to that appearance of God and manifestation of the love of the Lord to thy soul that visits thee. *The Lord is near thee, with thee, and in thee, to enlighten, melt, and refresh thee. 'Tis his presence, not seen or felt of the wicked, that gathers and revives the soul that seeks him.* So the Lord be with thee, and *remember into thy bosom the sincere love thou hast shown to thy son and his friends!* I say no more, but in the Lord farewell!

"Thy truly affectionate Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. 1682—has a narrow escape from prison—assists R. Davies—his sickness on the death of his mother—letter written by him at that time—publishes his Frame of Government—admirable preface thereto—substance of the said Frame and of the Laws—bars all future claim upon Pennsylvania by the Duke of York—obtains a fresh grant called the Territories—leaves a letter to his wife and children—embarks in the Downs—writes a farewell epistle from thence and a letter to S. Crisp—sails, and arrives at Newcastle—calls the first General Assembly at Upland, then new named Chester—business done there—visits New York and Maryland—returns, and makes his great treaty with the Indians—goes to Pennsbury—fixes on a site for his new city—plan of it—calls it Philadelphia—divides the land into counties—lays out townships—two of his letters while so employed—reserves a thousand acres for G. Fox—receives new reinforcements of settlers—gives them a plan for huts—amount of the latter—their way of living after their arrival—appoints sheriffs to the different counties—issues writs to these for calling the Assemblies in the spring.

WILLIAM PENN in the beginning of this year had a narrow escape from prison. Men's minds were much heated at this time in the city of London on account of the choosing of sheriffs, so that, when he went on the Sunday to divine worship in Grace-church-

church-street, he found the yard in which the meeting-house stood crowded with soldiers. After sitting awhile in the meeting he began to preach. Upon this a constable came forward with his staff, and bad him give over and come down. He went on, however, as if nothing had happened, till he finished his discourse. George Fox, who rose up and preached after him, was assailed in the same manner. But the words delivered by the preachers were so impressive, that the constable, who was a tender-hearted man, felt himself as it were disarmed, so that he could not discharge his office. It appeared, that he and others had come with a warrant to apprehend them on the information of one Hilton, who had set out with them to execute it, but had run away. Finding the informer gone, and having some doubt as to the legality of executing the warrant on the Sabbath-day, the constable was willing to allow these to operate upon his mind as circumstances which would justify him in taking no further notice of the affair.

A writ having been issued in Wales against Richard Davies, a Welsh Quaker, who was then

in London, for taking him up on his return home, as an excommunicated person on the statute against Popish Recusants. William Penn interested himself on his behalf, and procured him a letter from the Lord Hyde to his diocesan, the learned Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; the consequence of which was, not only that the writ was stayed, but that some persons similarly circumstanced with Davies were not molested, and others were discharged from prison.

About this time his mother died, for whom he had the deepest filial affection. She had often interposed in his behalf, when his father was angry with him for his dereliction of church principles and of the honours and fashions of the world, and she took him under her wing and supported him when he was turned out of doors for the same reason. It is said that he was so affected by her death, that he was ill for some days. A letter has come down to us, which he wrote at this time in answer to a friend who had solicited his advice, from which we may collect that he had been certainly indisposed on the occasion; and as the

the language of grief is usually short, so the conciseness of this letter, together with the sentiment contained in it, seems to imply that his mind was then oppressed by the event, and his religious consideration of it. It runs thus:

"DEAR FRIEND,

"Both thy letters came in a few days one of the other. My sickness upon my mother's death, who was last seventh day interred, permitted me not to answer thee so soon as desired; but on a serious weighing of thy inclinations, and perceiving to last thy uneasiness under my constrained silence, it is most clear to me to counsel thee to sink down into the seasoning, settling gift of God, and to wait to distinguish between thy own desires and the Lord's requirings."

Having paid the last earthly offices of respect to his mother, he began by degrees to turn his mind to his American concerns. The first thing he did was to publish the Frame of Government or Constitution of Pennsylania, mentioned in the last chapter. To this he added a noble preface, containing his own thoughts upon the origin, nature, object, and modes of Government; a preface,

face, indeed, so beautiful, and full of wise and just sentiments, that I should fail in my duty if I were to withhold it from the reader.

"When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it: and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness; and, whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust, prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that had before no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such *as would not live conformable to the holy law within*, should fall under the *reproof and correction of the just law without, in a judicial administration.*

"This the apostle teaches in divers of his epistles. 'The law,' says he, 'was added because of transgression.' In another place, 'knowing

'knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man, but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers,' and others. But this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of Government a little further: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same——He is the minister of God to thee for good——Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.'

"This settles the divine right of Government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil-doers: secondly, to cherish those that do well; which *gives Government a life beyond corruption*, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that Government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end; for, if it does not directly remove

remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine Power that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil-doers, Government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society. They *weakly err, who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it.* Daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much the greatest part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of Government in general as to its rise and end.

"For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are, first, that

that the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true they seem to agree in the end, to wit, happiness, but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always *want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason;* and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, *that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.*

"Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, *that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.*

"Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government *is free to the people under it;* whatever be the frame, *where the laws rule and the people are a party*

a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

"But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. *Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.*

"I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that *though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones.* 'Tis true good laws have some awe upon ill ministers,

nisters, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. *That therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue*, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, *must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after-ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.*

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and Conditional Laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience

science to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the Frame and Laws of this Government to the great end of government, *to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power*, that they *may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.* To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen."

The Frame, which followed this preface, consisted of twenty-four articles; and the Laws, which were annexed to the latter, were forty.

By the Frame the government was placed in the Governor and Freemen of the province, out of whom were to be formed two bodies; namely, a Provincial Council and a General Assembly. These were to be chosen by the

Freemen; and though the Governor or his Deputy was to be perpetual President, he was to have but a treble vote. The Provincial Council was to consist of seventy-two members. One third part, that is, twenty-four of them, were to serve for three years, one third for two, and the other third for one; so that there might be an annual succession of twenty-four new members, each third part thus continuing for three years and no longer. It was the office of this Council to prepare and propose bills, to see that the laws were executed, to take care of the peace and safety of the province, to settle the situation of ports, cities, market towns, roads, and other public places, to inspect the public treasury, to erect courts of justice, institute schools, and reward the authors of useful discovery. Not less than two thirds of these were necessary to make a quorum; and the consent of not less than two thirds of such quorum in all matters of moment. The General Assembly was to consist the first year of all the freemen, and the next of two hundred. These were to be increased afterward according to the increase of the population of the province. They were

were to have no deliberative power; but, when bills were brought to them from the Governor and Provincial Council, to pass or reject them by a plain Yes or No. They were to present sheriffs and justices of the peace to the Governor, a double number for his choice of half. *They were to be elected annually.* All elections of members, whether to the Provincial Council or General Assembly, *were to be by ballot.* And this Charter or Frame of Government was not to be altered, changed, or diminished in any part or clause of it, without the consent of the Governor, or his heirs or assigns, and six parts out of seven of the Freemen both in the Provincial Council and General Assembly.

With respect to the Laws, which I said before were forty in number, I shall only at present observe of them, that they related to whatever may be included under the term "Good Government of the Province;" some of them to liberty of conscience; others to civil officers and their qualifications; others to offences; others to legal proceedings, such as pleadings, processes, fines, imprisonments, and arrests; others to the natural servants and poor of the province. With respect to all

of them it may be observed, that, like the Frame itself, they could not be altered but by the consent of the Governor, or his heirs, and the consent of six parts out of seven of the two bodies before mentioned.

William Penn, having published the Frame as now concisely explained, thought it of great importance, in order to prevent all future claim or even pretence of claim by the Duke of York or his heirs upon the province, to obtain from His Royal Highness a deed of release for the same. This deed was accordingly made out. It witnessed, that His Royal Highness out of a special regard to the memory and faithful and eminent services performed by Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn to His Majesty and to his said Royal Highness, and for the better encouragement of William Penn, his son, to proceed in the cultivating and improving the tract of land then called Pennsylvania, and in reducing the savage and barbarous nations thereof to civility, and for the good will which his said Royal Highness had and bore to the said William Penn, his son, did for himself and his heirs quit and release for ever to the said William Penn

and

and his heirs all the said tract of land. This deed was signed by His Royal Highness on the twenty-first of August 1682, and was sealed and delivered in the presence of John Werden and George Man.

Besides the above, he obtained of His Royal Highness the Duke of York his right, title, and interest in another tract of land, of respectable extent, which lay contiguous to Pennsylvania. This was at that time inhabited by Dutch and Swedes. The Dutch had long before made war upon and conquered the Swedes; and the English had afterwards conquered both, and had annexed the country they occupied to that which belonged to His Royal Highness, and placed it under his Government of New York. This tract then, which was known afterwards by the name of The Territories, was presented to William Penn. It was made over to him, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated the twenty-fourth of August 1682, in which the boundaries were duly specified, and particularly those between the said Territories and Maryland.

William Penn had now done almost every thing

thing that he judged to be necessary previously to his embarkation. He had barred all claim from the Duke of York upon his province of Pennsylvania. He had added the Territories to it, upon which there was a considerable population. He had published his Frame of Government and Laws, which were suitable to both. He had engaged a ship for the voyage. He had put most of his stores, furniture, and other articles on board. There was yet, however, one thing which he was desirous of doing. His mind, as the time of his departure drew near, began to be seriously affected about his wife and children, and particularly about their spiritual welfare, during an absence the length of which, on account of the numerous wants of an infant-settlement daily to be attended to, he could not foresee. He resolved therefore to put down what occurred to him in the way of advice to them as to their conduct during his absence, and to leave it with them in the form of a letter. This letter has been preserved; and as it is very beautiful on account of the simplicity and patriarchal spirit in which it is written, and truly valuable

valuable on account of its contents, I shall give it as an acceptable present to such readers as may not yet have seen it:

"My dear wife and children,

"My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: and may the God of my life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!——Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

"My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether

whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

"First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed: else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

"Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family-matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain,

tain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee: rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions: this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

"Thirdly: Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case). I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father's, 'I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;' and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee

thee be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms end; for it is giving away our power, aye and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and Friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

"Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to

be

be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

"Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved: but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye: let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example: like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained

obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware;

beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the Wise Man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

"And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and

and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

"In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

"To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

"Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil

evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time, because the days are evil!——You are now beginning to live——What would some give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth. ——Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that Society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience

experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

"Next: be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

"Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge

ledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desireable to you.

" And being married be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

" Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that 'he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.'

" Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world: use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

" Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

" Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

" Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your Heavenly Father.

" In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

" Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniencies.

" Avoid

" Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lye to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, 'Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?' answers, 'He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is contemned, but honoureth them who fear the Lord.'

" Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, no Crown.'

There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

" Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folk's matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

" In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

" Let the fear and service of the Living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that

that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

" And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

" Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can

can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

" If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlements of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

" Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like

like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

"So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the Prophets, the Apostles, and Martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

"So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

"Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*Worminghurst, fourth of sixth month,* 1682."

William Penn, after having written this letter, took an affectionate leave of his wife and children, and, accompanied by several friends, arrived at Deal. Here he embarked on board the ship Welcome, of three hundred tons burthen, Robert Greenaway commander. The passengers, including himself, were not more than a hundred. They were mostly Quakers. They were also, most of them, from Sussex, in which county his house at Worminghurst was seated. While lying in the Downs he wrote a farewell-epistle, the title of which ran thus, "An Epistle, containing a Salutation to all Faithful Friends, a Reproof to the Unfaithful, and a Visitation to the Inquiring in the Land of my Nativity."

He wrote also a letter to his friend Stephen Crisp, an able and upright Minister of the Gospel in his own Society, who had been a great sufferer for religion, and for whom he had an extraordinary regard. He had parted with him but a few days before. His letter, which is well worth copying, was as follows:

"DEAR STEPHEN CRISP,

"My dear and lasting love in the Lord's everlasting Truth reaches to thee, with whom is

is my fellowship in the Gospel of Peace, that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for, when a few years are passed, we shall all go the way whence we shall never return: and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and, in the end, enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

"Stephen! we know one another, and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather thy love at my parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee, which comforted me; for many are my trials, yet not more than my supplies from my heavenly Father, whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting-work, and that leaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but

but that he has an heavenly end and service in it: so with him I leave all, and myself, and thee, and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

"God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his for ever!

"I am, in the ancient dear fellowship,

"Thy faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

On or about the first of September the Welcome sailed; but she had not proceeded far to sea, when the small-pox broke out, and this in so virulent a manner, that thirty of the passengers fell a sacrifice to it. In this trying situation William Penn administered to the sick every comfort in his power, both by his personal attendance and by his spiritual advice. In about six weeks from the time of leaving the Downs he came in sight of the American coast, and afterwards found himself in the Delaware River.

In passing up the river, the Dutch and Swedes, now his subjects, who were said to occupy the Territories lately ceded to him, and the English, as well those who had gone the preceding year under Colonel Markham

as

as others who had settled there before, met and received him with equal demonstrations of joy. Those of Dutch and Swedish extraction living there at this time were estimated at between two and three thousand. At length he landed at Newcastle. Here the Dutch had a Court-house. In this, the day after his arrival, he called together the people. Having taken legal possession of the country, according to due form, in their presence, he made a speech to the old Magistrates, in which he explained to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish. He then assured all present, that they should have the full enjoyment of their rights both as to liberty of conscience and civil freedom. He recommended them to live in sobriety, and in peace and amity with each other. After this he renewed the Magistrates' commissions.

He now took a journey to New York, to pay his respects to the Duke by visiting his government and colony. This gave him an opportunity of seeing Long Island and the Jerseys. He then returned to Newcastle.

His

His next movement was to Upland, in order to call the first General Assembly. This was a memorable event, and to be distinguished by some marked circumstance. He determined therefore to change the name of the place. Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his own Society, who had accompanied him in the ship Welcome, he said, "Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I should call this place?" Pearson said, "Chester, in remembrance of the city from whence he came." William Penn replied, that it should be called Chester; and that, when he divided the land into counties, he would call one of them by the same name also.

At length the Assembly met. It consisted of an equal number for the Province and for the Territories of all such Freemen as chose to attend, according to the sixteenth article of the Frame of Government. It chose for its Speaker Nicholas Moore, President of the "Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," before spoken of, and then proceeded to business, which occupied three days.

At

At this Assembly an Act of Union was passed, annexing the Territories to the Province, and likewise an Act of Settlement in reference to the Frame of Government; which Frame of Government, as it related to the Constitution, was, with certain alterations, declared to be accepted and confirmed.

The Dutch, Swedes, and foreigners of all descriptions within the boundaries of the Province and Territories were then naturalized.

All the Laws agreed upon in England as belonging to the Frame of Government were with some alterations, and with the addition of nineteen others, thus making together fifty-nine, passed in due form.

Among these Laws I shall notice the following. All persons who confessed the one almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World, and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, were in no ways to be molested for their religious persuasion and practice, nor to be compelled at any time to frequent any religious place or ministry whatever. All Treasurers, however, Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all whatsoever in the service of the Govern-

Government, and all members elected to serve in Provincial Council and General Assembly, and all electors, were to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and as had not been convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and who were one-and-twenty years of age. All children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none might be idle in the province; but that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Servants were not to be kept longer than the time of servitude agreed upon, and were to be put in fit equipage at the expiration of it. All pleadings, processes, and records in Courts of Law were to be as short as possible. All fees of Law were to be moderate, and to be hung up on tables in the Courts. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted were to have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. All fines were to be moderate. With respect to the criminal part of these Laws, one new principle was introduced into it. William Penn was of opinion, that though the deterring of others from offences must continue

tinue to be the great and indeed only end of punishment, yet, in a community professing itself Christian, the reformation of the offender was to be inseparably connected with it. Hence he made but two capital offences; namely, murder, and treason against the State: and hence also all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed.

The Assembly having sat three days, as I observed before, broke up; but, before they adjourned, they returned their most grateful thanks to the Governor. The Swedes also deputed for themselves Lacy Cock to return him their thanks, and to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they had ever seen.

After the adjournment he prepared for a visit to Maryland. On his first arrival at Newcastle he had dispatched two messengers to the Lord Baltimore to "ask his health, to offer kind neighbourhood, and to agree upon a time of meeting, the better to establish it." By this time the messengers had returned, from whom it appeared that the Lord

Lord Baltimore would be glad to see him. On receiving this information he set out for West River, and at the appointed time reached the place of meeting, where he was very kindly received, not only by his host, but by the principal inhabitants of the province. There the two Governors endeavoured to fix the boundaries between their respective Provinces; but the winter season being expected, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the matter, after two days spent upon it, they appointed to meet again in the spring. William Penn accordingly departed. Lord Baltimore had the politeness to accompany him several miles, till he came to the house of one William Richardson, where he took his leave of him. And here it may be observed, that the nobleman just mentioned, whose name was Charles, was the son and heir of Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, who had obtained the original grant of Maryland, and who, being a Catholic, had peopled it with those of his own persuasion. Cecilius, however, though he himself and they who emigrated with him were of this description, had the liberality to allow liberty of conscience to all who came to settle in his Province;

vince; so that though William Penn is justly entitled to the praise of posterity for having erected a colony composed of different denominations of Christians, where the laws respecting liberty both civil and religious were equally extended to all, and where no particular sect was permitted to arrogate to itself peculiar advantages, yet he had not the honour, as we see, (however the project with him might have been original,) of being the first to realize it.

Having refreshed himself at William Richardson's, he proceeded to a religious meeting of the Quakers, two miles further on, which was to be held at the house of Thomas Hooker. From thence he went to Choptank, on the eastern shore of Chesapeak Bay, where "a meeting of Colonels, Magistrates, and persons of divers qualities and ranks," had been purposely appointed. The visit being over, he returned to Upland, which from henceforth I shall call Chester.

The time now arrived when he was to confirm his great Treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality,

did not permit him to look upon the King's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed Commissioners, as I mentioned in the preceding chapter, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a Treaty of eternal Friendship. This the Commissioners had done; and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian Chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any

any weapon,—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor Treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in Quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the Treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxon an elm tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his ~~usual~~ clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of eminence. He was distinguished only by

wearing a sky-blue sash* round his waist, which was made of silk net-work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it except in colour. On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left his friend Pearson before mentioned; after whom followed a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandize, which, when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the Confirmation of the Treaty of Purchase and Amity, in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the Chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations and according to Scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the Chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows,

* This sash is now in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq. of Seething-hall, near Norwich.

and

and seated themselves round their Chiefs in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the Nations were ready to hear him.

Having been thus called upon, he began. The Great Spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the Heaven and the Earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the Conditions of the Purchase, and the Words of the Compact then made for their eternal Union. Among other things,

things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandize which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them Children or Brothers only; for often Parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and Brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the Friendship between him and them to a Chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and

and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon; but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted, that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the Sun and Moon should endure.—Thus ended this famous Treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever transmitted to posterity. "This," says Voltaire, "was the only Treaty between those people and the Christians that was

was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken."——"William Penn thought it right," says the Abbé Raynal, "to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved.——Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror, which the whole of it, but particularly that of the European settlements in America, inspires."——Noble, in his Continuation of Granger, says, "he occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honour, as no blood was shed, and the Christian and the Barbarian met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations."——"Being now returned," says Robert Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, "from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness.——It was at this time when he first entered personally into that friendship with them,

them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the Quakers retained power in the Government.——His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people*."

After the Treaty he went up the Delaware, a few miles, to see the mansion which Colonel Markham had been preparing for him.

* The great elm tree, under which this Treaty was made, became celebrated from this day. When in the American war the British General Simcoe was quartered at Kensington, he so respected it, that when his soldiers were cutting down every tree for fire-wood, he placed a sentinel under it, that not a branch of it might be touched. The year before last it was blown down, when its trunk was split into wood, and cups and other articles were made of it, to be kept as memorials of it. As to the roll of parchment containing the Treaty, it was shown by the Mingoes, Shawanese, and other Indians, to Governor Keith, at a Conference in 1722.

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It was erected, but not finished. The manor, on which it stood, was beautifully situated, being on the banks of the Delaware over against the present Burlington, and only a few miles below the falls of Trenton. It was a treble island, the Delaware running three times round it. The mansion was built of brick, and was large and commodious. There was a spacious hall in it, intended as a hall of audience for the Sovereigns of the soil. Reserving this for his own residence, he gave it the name of Pennsbury.

From Pennsbury he returned to Chester. Having now fairly purchased the land of the natives, he ordered a regular survey of it. This was performed by Thomas Holme, who had come out as Surveyor General of the province. During the survey he pitched upon Coaquannoc as the most noble and commodious place for his new city. It was situated between the rivers Skuylkill and Delaware, and therefore bounded by them on two sides, and on a third by their confluence. The junction of two such rivers and both of them navigable, the great width and depth of the latter so admirably calculated

lated for commerce, the existence of a stratum of brick earth on the spot, immense quarries of building stone in the neighbourhood,—these and other circumstances determined him in the choice of it. It happened, however, that it was then in the possession of the Swedes; but the latter, on application being made to them, cheerfully exchanged it for land in another quarter.

Having now determined upon the site, and afterwards upon the plan of the city, he instructed Thomas Holme to make a map of it, in which the streets were to be laid out as they were to be afterwards built. There were to be two large streets, the one fronting the Delaware on the east, and the other the Skuylkill on the west, of a mile in length. A third, to be called High Street, of one hundred feet broad, was to run directly through the middle of the city so as to communicate with the streets now mentioned at right angles; that is, it was to run through the middle from river to river, or from east to west. A fourth of the same breadth, to be called Broad Street, was to run through the middle also, but to intersect High Street at right angles, or to run from

from north to south. Eight streets, fifty feet wide, were to be built parallel to High Street, that is, from river to river; and twenty, of the like width, parallel to Broad Street, that is, to cross the former from side to side. The streets running from east to west were to be named according to their numerical order, such as First, Second, and Third Street, and those from north to south according to the woods of the country, such as Vine, Spruce, Pine, Sassafras, Cedar, and others. There was to be, however, a square of ten acres in the middle of the city, each corner of which was to be reserved for public offices. There was to be also in each quarter of it a square of eight acres, to be used by the citizens in like manner as Moorfields in London. The city having been thus planned, he gave it a name, which he had long reserved for it, namely, Philadelphia, in token of that principle of *brotherly love, upon which he had come to these parts; which he had shown to Dutch, Swedes, Indians, and others alike; and which he wished might for ever characterize his new dominions.*

Scarcely was this plan determined upon, when, late as the season was, some of the settlers

settlers began to build, and this with such rapidity, being assisted by the Swedes, that several houses were erected in this year. He himself was employed in the mean while with Thomas Holme in finishing the survey of his grants and purchases; the result of which was, that he divided the Province and Territories, each into three counties. The Province contained those of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester; the first so named from the city, which was then building; the second from Buckinghamshire in England, which was the land of his ancestors; and the third from the promise before mentioned which he had made to his friend Pearson. The Territories contained those of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; the latter of which he so named out of respect to his wife's family, Sussex in England having been the county of their nativity for generations.

From the larger he proceeded to the inferior divisions, employed himself in marking out townships, and laying out lots. And here he did not forget his venerable friend and companion in the ministry, George Fox, for whom as a small testimony of respect he reserved an allotment of a thousand

thousand acres. The deed of grant for this land is extant, as well as a will made by George Fox prior to that, which was proved in Doctors' Commons, in which he devised the said land to John Rouse, Thomas Lower, and Daniel Abrahams, and their children, to be equally divided among them; reserving however six acres for a meeting-house, a school-house, and a burying-place for Friends, and also ten acres for a close to put their horses in while at meeting, that they might not be lost in the woods.

There are two letters written by William Penn, while occupied in the manner I have mentioned, both dated from Chester, extracts from which may not be unacceptable to the reader. In the first of these he expresses himself thus:

"I bless the Lord I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough, having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves.

"I have been at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland, in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord.

"I am now casting the country into townships

ships for large lots of land. I have held an Assembly, in which many good laws are passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a Government. I have annexed the Territories lately obtained to the Province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people.——As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish: in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe!"

In the other letter, which was written to a person who had ungenerously and unduly reflected upon him, we see the care, anxiety, and vigilance, which he manifested in his new station, his disinterested motives for seeking it, and the humility of his mind when he had obtained it. "Keep," says he, "thy place. I am in mine. I am not sitting

ting down in a greatness which I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not sixpence enriched by this greatness, (costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a public manner but at my own charge, duly considered,) to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, from my dear wife and poor children.

"Well; the Lord is a God of righteous judgement. Had I indeed sought greatness, I had staid at home, where the difference between what I am here and what was offered and I could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are—— No: I came for the Lord's sake; and therefore have I stood to this day, well, and diligent, and successful, blessed be his power! Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place in travails, watchings, spendings, and to my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man. I have many witnesses. To conclude: It is now in Friends' hands. Through my travail, faith, and patience, it came. If Friends here keep to God in the justice, mercy, equity, and

and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool: if not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will lose all, and desolation will follow. But, blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly Spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a King and Counsellor for ever.

"Thy ancient though grieved Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

After this, a number of vessels arrived in the Delaware from Somersetshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Wales, and Ireland. Out of the twenty-three which sailed from thence, not one was lost. They brought with them altogether more than two thousand souls. These were mostly Quakers, who had bought allotments, and had come to occupy them. They had left their country, as we learn from "The Planter's Speech to his Neighbours" published at this time, "that they might lead a life quiet and peaceable, free from the vexations they had experienced, and during which they might worship the great Creator in their own way; that here, as on a virgin Elysian shore, they might be

freed from the sight of odious and infectious examples, and of the wickedness and profligacy of the European world; that as trees were transplanted from one soil to another to make them better bearers, so here, under the protection of God, they might the better bring forth fruit to their own edification and his glory; and lastly, that by affording an example of holy and pious living they might more effectually impress the Heathen around them, and thus bring them from darkness to light, to that pure and perfect light which emanated from the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

When the vessels arrived, the Swedes very kindly volunteered their services in unloading them; and as they arrived not all at once, but in succession, the goods were more speedily brought on shore, and the passengers more easily accommodated and disposed of. The latter, as they were landed, distributed themselves through the country, some going one way and some another, some settling within the Territories, others within the Province, according as their lots or as their friends and expectations lay. Their number being altogether great, they appeared,

peared, when thus distributed, to occupy a large portion of land. There were people apparently all the way, though thinly scattered, from the Falls of Trenton to Chester. Taking in the Dutch and Swedes, and those who had gone out with Colonel Markham and William Penn, and the new comers just mentioned, and including men, women, and children, their total number did not fall short of six thousand persons; so that William Penn may be said to have raised a colony at once in his new domains.

Many of those who had arrived being of a sober cast, and having property, had brought out with them houses in frame, tools, implements, and furniture, and also food and raiment sufficient to last them for some time after their arrival. All such experienced the benefit of their prudence. Others were not so well provided; but coming some weeks before the winter began, they were enabled to get through it with more comfort than could have been expected, as it related to their habitations. They used the short opportunity they had in cutting down wood, and working it, and putting it

together, so as to construct temporary huts. William Penn furnished them with a general plan for these. They were to be rather better than thirty feet long, and eighteen wide. There was to be a partition in the middle, so that each was to be divided into two equal parts. When the shell was up, it was to be covered and defended on the outside by clapboards. It was to be lined also in the inside by the same. The intervening space between the external covering and inside lining was to be filled with earth, to keep out the cold and frost. The ground floor was to be made of clay, and the upper or loft of wood. The latter was to be divided or not, according to the wants of the family. As to the roof, it was to be of clapboard also. Others arrived too late in the season to be able to raise themselves habitations. These suffered more or less from the severity of the winter. Some of them were kindly taken in by the Swedes and others; but the rest were obliged to betake themselves to the bank of the river, where the city was building. This standing high, and being dry, they dug large holes in it, and in these they

they lived. These dwelling-places went by the name of the *Caves* from this period.

With respect to provisions, they fared better, all of them, than might have been expected in a country which all around, except just upon the shore, was an entire wilderness. Yet in this situation they met with occasional support. The wild pigeons flew about in such numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by them; and, flying low, they were sometimes knocked down in great numbers by those who had no other means of taking them. The supply from these was sometimes so great, that they could not consume them while fresh: they therefore salted the overplus. The Indians also were remarkably kind to them. They hunted for them frequently, doing their utmost to feed them. They considered them all as the children of Onas*; and, looking upon him ever since the Great Treaty as their own Father also, they treated them as Brothers.

William Penn having divided the land into Counties, as I have just mentioned, appointed Sheriffs to each; soon after which

* Onas was the name for Pen in the Indian language.

he issued writs for the election of members both to sit in Council and General Assembly, according to the Constitution, as early as possible in the spring. One of these writs has been preserved. It runs as follows:

"William Penn, Proprietary Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging:

"I do hereby, in the King's name, empower and require thee to summon all the Freeholders in thy bailiwick to meet on the twentieth day of the next month at the Falls upon Delaware River, and that they then and there elect and choose out of themselves twelve persons of most note for wisdom and integrity, to serve as their Delegates in the Provincial Council to be held at Philadelphia the tenth day of the first month (March) next, that they may all personally appear at an Assembly at the place aforesaid, according to the contents of my Charter of Liberties, of which thou art to make me a true and faithful return."

"Given at Philadelphia — month — 1682.

"To Richard Noble, High Sheriff of the county of Bucks."

The

The other High Sheriffs, to whom the other writs were directed, were John Test for Philadelphia, Thomas Usher for Chester, Edmund Cantwell for Newcastle, Peter Bowcomb for Kent, and John Vines for Sussex.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIX.

A. 1683—*Members returned for the Province and Territories—List of those sent to the Assembly—meets his Council—and afterwards the Assembly—which sit twenty-two days—Business done there—grants a new Charter—first judicial proceedings—Trial of Pickering and others—Names of the first Juries—great progress in the building of Philadelphia—and in agriculture by the Settlers—their manner of living as described by R. Townsend—goes on a journey of discovery into the interior of Pennsylvania—sends the Natural History of it to "The free Society of Traders"—Copy of his Letter on that subject—fails in settling a dispute with the Lord Baltimore—sends his Case to the Lords' Committee of Plantations, in England.*

Soon after the new year had begun, an infant was born of the family of Key. His mother had been brought-to-bed in her habitation in one of the *Caves*. He was the first-born child of English parents in the Colony. This being a new event, the Governor recorded it by making him a present of a lot of land. Key lived afterwards to a great age, but he never lost the name of *first-born* to the day of his death.

The time being now at hand, as specified in the writs which had been issued, for the organization of the Legislative Bodies, those who

who had been chosen by the Freeholders began to move, some from their temporary huts and others from their houses, to the place of meeting. It appears that only twelve persons had been returned out of each of the six counties, three of these for the Council and nine for the Assembly. Thus the Council consisted only of eighteen and the Assembly of fifty-four, making together seventy-two. It will be proper to observe here, that, after the division of the land into counties, the Province still continued to be called the Province, but the Territories usually went by the name of the *Three lower Counties of the Delaware.*

We have not a perfect list of those who composed the first Council. Sixteen, however, of their names have been preserved. Among these were Colonel Markham, the Governor's relation and secretary; Thomas Holme, his surveyor-general of the colony; and Lacy Cock, the Swede before mentioned, who had been deputed by his countrymen to congratulate the Governor on his arrival, and to acquaint him, after the first Assembly at Chester, that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had.

With

With respect to the names of the first Assembly, we have them complete. W. Yardley, S. Darke, R. Lucas, N. Walne, J. Wood, J. Clowes, T. Fitzwater, R. Hall, and J. Boyden, were elected for Bucks: J. Longhurst, J. Hart, W. King, A. Binkson, J. Moon, T. Wynne, G. Jones, W. Warner, and S. Swanson, for Philadelphia: J. Hoskins, R. Wade, G. Wood, J. Blunston, D. Rochford, T. Bracy, J. Bezer, J. Harding, and J. Phipps, for Chester: J. Biggs, S. Irons, T. Hassold, J. Curtis, R. Bedwell, W. Windsmore, J. Brinkloe, D. Brown, and B. Bishop, for Kent: J. Cann, J. Darby, V. Hollingsworth, G. Herman, J. Dehoaef, J. Williams, W. Guest, P. Alric, and H. Williams, for Newcastle: and L. Watson, A. Draper, W. Futcher, H. Bowman, A. Moleston, J. Hill, R. Bracy, J. Kipshaven, and C. Verhoof, for Sussex.

The Freeholders, when they returned the above and no others, were sensible that, according to the letter of the Constitution, they had returned a far less number to the legislative bodies than they ought, having elected only seventy-two persons in all, whereas the Council itself should have consisted

sisted of that number. It was impossible, however, in the then state of things, that they could have done otherwise. They gave therefore their reasons in writing on the Sheriffs' returns for the deficiency; and they added that, though the number was less than the law required, they considered those who had been elected as possessing the power of all the Freemen, both of the Province and Territories. They petitioned the Governor also, before the members met in their official capacities, that this their non-compliance with the Constitution to its full extent might not deprive them of the benefit of their Charter. To this he replied, "that they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and that he was ready to settle such foundations with them, as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him."

These preliminaries having been adjusted, he met his Council on the tenth of March.

On the twelfth he met the Assembly. This latter body chose for its Speaker Thomas Wynne, and then proceeded to business. At this and subsequent sittings till the twentieth much work was gone through. Several bills were framed and passed. Outlines also were

were agreed upon for the amendment of the old Charter. A Seal also was established for each county. To Philadelphia was given an anchor, to Bucks a tree and vine, to Chester a plough, to Newcastle a cassia, to Kent three ears of Indian corn, and to Sussex a wheat-sheaf.

At a Council held on the twentieth, the Speaker and two members of the Assembly attending with certain bills which had been sent to them, the Governor and Council desired a conference with the whole House and Freemen about the Charter. They attended accordingly. He then asked them explicitly, whether they chose to have the old or a new Charter. They unanimously requested a new one, with such amendments as had already been agreed upon. Upon this he made a short speech to them, in which he signified his assent to their request; distinguishing, however, between their duty and his own willingness to oblige them, and hoping that both would be found consistent with each other and reconcileable on the present occasion.

On the twenty-first the Assembly sent Griffith Jones and Thomas Fitzwater to thank him

him for his speech, and to signify their grateful acceptance of his offer. After this a Committee of each House was appointed to draw up a new Charter.

At a Council held on the thirtieth, the Governor having read, approved, signed, and sealed the Charter, which the Committees had drawn up, presented it in due form to James Harrison, Thomas Wynne, and another member, who attended in behalf of the Assembly and Freemen. These, on receiving it, returned the old one into his hands with the hearty thanks of the whole House. By this Charter the Provincial Council was to consist of eighteen persons, three from each county, and the Assembly of thirty-six, men of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability; by whom, with the Governor, all laws were to be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, in the manner expressed therein. All the laws, however, were still to be prepared by the Governor and Council, and the number of Assemblymen were to be increased at their pleasure. This was the last business transacted at this session, which had continued twenty-two days.

Having

Having spoken of the first Legislative, I shall notice the first Judicial proceedings.

The first Grand Jury was summoned in the month of March upon one Pickering and others, persons of bad character, who had stolen out among the respectable settlers in their passage from England, in order to make an advantage of the distress and confusion of a new colony. Those who composed it were Thomas Lloyd (foreman), E. Flower, R. Wood, J. Harding, J. Hill, E. Louff, J. Boyden, N. Walne, J. James, J. Vanborson, R. Hall, V. Hollingsworth, A. Draper, J. Louff, J. Wale, S. Darke, J. Parsons, J. Blunston, T. Fitzwater, W. Guest, J. Curtis, R. Lucas, H. Jones, and C. Pusey.

Bills having been found by these, a petty Jury was impanelled and attested. It consisted of J. Claypoole (foreman), R. Turner, R. Ewer, A. Rakson, J. Barnes, J. Fisher, D. Rochford, W. Howell, W. King, B. Whitehead, T. Rose, and D. Breintnell.

The trial then came on. It was held before the Governor and Council, who sat as a Court of Justice. The charge against the prisoners was, that they had coined and stamped silver in the form of Spanish pieces with

with more alloy of copper than the law allowed. They were found guilty. The sentence was, that Pickering, as principal, should for this high misdemeanour make full satisfaction, in good and current pay, to all persons who should within the space of one month bring in any of his false, base, and counterfeit coin (which was to be called in the next day by proclamation), according to their respective proportions; and that the money brought in should be melted down before it was returned to him; and that he should pay a fine of forty pounds towards the building of a Court-house, stand committed till the same was paid, and afterwards find security for his good behaviour.

The Legislative Assembly being over, and the members returned to their habitations, William Penn directed his attention to his new city. By this time Philadelphia had begun to rise out of the ground. The first house finished there was built by George Guest. The owner of it used it as a tavern, a good speculation under existing circumstances, and called it the Blue Anchor. Soon after many small houses were erected. Larger and more commodious followed, and this so rapidly,

rapidly, that, including ordinary and good houses, not less than a hundred were found in their proper stations by the end of the present year. William Penn, indeed, seems to have had a mind capable of directing its energies usefully to every department of a new colony, whether in that of agriculture, building, government, or religion. His plan for the city of Philadelphia has been considered as the work of a provident and great architect; and to that sleepless spirit of vigilance, that spirit which he possessed in the highest degree, of constantly overlooking and forwarding whatever he had begun, it was to be ascribed that so great a progress had been made in the buildings in so short a time. Dean Prideaux, in his Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, gives a plan or model of the city of ancient Babylon, after which he speaks thus: "Much according to this model hath William Penn, the Quaker, laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world."

The

The settlers too had by this time made a visible improvement in some of their allotments. Portions of these had not only in many instances been cleared, but put into cultivation. Most of those who arrived in the first ships had been enabled, in consequence of the openness of the winter for a longer period than usual, to put their winter corn into the ground. Others had since sown here and there patches of barley. A letter written by Richard Townsend, who went out with William Penn, is extant, from which we may collect something as to the way in which they went on, as well as to their subsequent gradual progress.

"After our arrival," says he, "we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought ready framed

from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, with Joshua Tittery, I made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about a shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

"And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought us in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"After our arrival there came in about twenty families from High and Low Germany of religious good people, who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place German Town——About the time when German Town was laid out, I settled upon

upon my tract of land, which I had bought of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence, where I set up a house and corn-mill, which was very useful to the country for several miles round; but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse.

"Being now settled within six or seven miles of Philadelphia, where I left the principal body of Friends together with the chief place of provisions, flesh-meat was very scarce with me for some time, of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence in the following manner:

"As I was in my meadow mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me. I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me. I then laid down my scythe and went towards him; upon which he ran off a small distance. I went to my work again, and the deer continued looking on me; so that several times I left my work to go towards him: but he still kept him-

self at a distance. At last, as I was going towards him, and he looking on me did not mind his steps, he ran forcibly against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and getting upon him held him by the legs. After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and with some difficulty, on account of his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile, to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and who killed him for me, he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread, and to improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad; and as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord,

Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful land; on which things to look back and observe all the steps would exceed my present purpose. Yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory being pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the Province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our religious meetings, wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness in reaching and convincing many persons of the principles of Truth: and those who were already convinced, and who continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of Heaven."

William Penn having now dispatched the public business of the colony, as far as his presence was necessary, and having superintended the works in his new city, went on a journey of discovery into the Province. He had, indeed, already become acquainted with its boundaries and extent, as well as with other particulars relating to it, in consequence

sequence of the survey of Thomas Holme; but he had now an object of a more interesting nature in view. He wished to be better acquainted with the inhabitants of the soil; to know something more distinctly of their language, genius, character, and customs: he wished also to know the natural history of the country, its minerals, its woods, and other produce; its animals both of the land and the water, its climate, and the like. With this view he undertook the journey in question. That he kept a journal of it, as he did of his tour into Holland and Germany, there can be no doubt; but I have never yet learnt where it is. Fortunately, however, the contents of it are not lost; for on his return to Pennsbury he wrote a letter to "The Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," dated August the sixteenth, in which he communicated to the Committee the result of his discoveries. This letter, therefore, I must give in lieu of the journal. It will answer the same end. I must give it also, because it notices the progress of the colony in some particulars, which, knowing they were contained in it, I have omitted to mention, that I might avoid repetition. It shows too the author to have been a man of extensive

sive knowledge, to have possessed a mind vigilant as to every thing that passed, to have had great discernment and penetration, to have been ingenious, bold, and solid in conjecture, capable of deep research, and fertile in the adaptation of discoveries to an useful end.

"My kind Friends,

"The kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Ann doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and in the prosperous beginning of this Province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself and the affairs of this Province as I have been able to make.

"In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit* too. One might have reasonably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against

against spite and envy; and indeed absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as of the dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves: but they who intend mischief do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive and *no Jesuit*; and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they who wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

"But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgements: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their Kings, Queens, and great men, both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns.

"For

"For the Province, the general condition of it take as followeth:

"1. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, are not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like that of our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mould upon a stony or rocky bottom.

"2. The air is sweet and clear, and the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

"3. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, which operate in the same manner with those of

of Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

"4. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the Province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

"First of the fall, for then I came in. I found it from the twenty-fourth of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in the summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes, which are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river Delaware. From that month to the month called June we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky,

Yet

Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, August, which endeth the summer, commonly speaking, we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other; a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

"5. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chesnut, and swamp, the most durable of all;

all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

"The fruits I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance the fox-grape because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not much unlike it in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other,—but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them,—but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels

for

for little. They make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

"6. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley*, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

"7. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and

* Edward Jones had for one grain of English barley seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common for one bushel sown to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty. Three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

the

the beasts of the wood, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food as well as profit the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose white and gray; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eaten in other countries. Of fish there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, pearch, roach; and in inland rivers trout, some say salmon above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and which are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and

two

two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

"8. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep. The people plough mostly with oxen.

"9. There are divers plants, which not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, and cuts, that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle, the other I know not what to call, but they are most fragrant.

"10. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year

year for a trial. Thus much of the country: next, of the natives or aborigines.

"11. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bears fat clarified; and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

"12. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in

in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien, all which are names of places and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anna is mother, issimus a brother, neteap friend, usqueoret very good, pane bread, metsa eat, matta no; hatta to have, payo to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamanend, Secane, Menanse, Secatareus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer Matta ne hatta, which to translate is 'Not I have,' instead of 'I have not.'

"13. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young, and

in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having lapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big. If boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. Then they hunt; and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they may marry: else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands: otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

"14. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please.

please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older.

"15. Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

"16. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homine. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

"17. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah, which is as much as to say "Good be to you!" and set them down,

which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright: it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased: else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"18. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country. A King's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which last week he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death: for, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but, when married, chaste.

chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more till delivered, and during their month they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them till that time be expired.

"19. But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some Kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring Kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every King then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that

that gravity which is admirable. Then that King subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the Kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with Chancery suits and Exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening. Their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are treated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, "Some more, and I will go to sleep;" but when drunk,

drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

"20. In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

"21. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it: yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics: for they say there is a great King, who made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall

shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they who go,

go, must carry a small present in their money: it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish: the black is with them as gold; the white silver; they call it wampum.

"22. Their government is by Kings, which they call Sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now King will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"23. Every King hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus:

The

The King sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me that he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the King who spoke, because what he should say was the King's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time. He feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolved; and that, if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this person

person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, who outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light: which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or Kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay there before: and having now such an one, who had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong; at every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen in their way.

"24. The

"24. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of their offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, 'that she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out if sober; and if drunk they forgive; saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

"25. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but *let them have justice, and you win them.* The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there *is so distinct a knowledge left of good and evil?* I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that

that come into these parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"26. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he who intended that extraordinary judgement upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is *not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America**. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in *rites*; they reckon by *moons*; they offer their

* This bold conjecture, though thought ridiculous at the time, has since been verified by the discoveries of Captain Cook and later navigators.

first

first fruits; they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles*; they are said to lay their altar upon *twelve stones*; their *mourning a year*; *customs of women*; with many other things that do not now occur. So much for the natives. Next, the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony and the concerns of it.

"27. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them for some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the States of Holland, anno 1655.

"28. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the Province that lie upon or near the Bay, and the Swedes the Freshes of the River Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made

no

no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

"29. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three; one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco within half a mile of this town.

"30. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have

have made; in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the East by the River and Bay of Delaware and Eastern Sea. It hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay, some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Sculkil, any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

"31. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pammapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck, and Pennberry in the Freshes; many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the Province and Territories is cast into six counties; Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four

four thousand souls. Two General Assemblies have been held, and *with such concord and dispatch that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing.* But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who, by their own private expenses, so early considered mine for the public, as *to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported, which, after my acknowledgement of their affection, I did as freely remit to the Province and the traders to it.* And for the well government of the said counties, *Courts of Justice are established in every county*, with proper officers, as Justices, Sheriffs, Clerks, Constables; which Courts are held every two months. But *to prevent law-suits there are three Peace-makers chosen by every County Court*, in the *nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man.* And spring and fall *there is an Orphan's Court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of Orphans and Widows.*

"32. Philadelphia, the expectation of those who are concerned in this Province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here who are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Sculkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Sculkill, being an hundred miles boatable above the Falls, and its course northeast towards the fountain of Susquahanna, (that tends to the heart of the Province, and both sides our own,) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, of all the places I have seen in the world I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and

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the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can; while the countrymen are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May, the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God! here is both room and accommodation for them: the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt-meat, which by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God I am

fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it; for I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.

"33. For your particular concern I might entirely refer you to the letters of the President of the Society: but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city-lot is a whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your

your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath plenty of bark. The saw-mill for timber and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the Society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do. Whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerons, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your

your President, Nicholas Moore, I shall add no more, but to assure you that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me

"Your kind cordial Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

I must mention, before I close this chapter, that the conference between William Penn and the Lord Baltimore was renewed this year, as agreed upon in the preceding, relative to the boundaries of their respective territories. There had been a misunderstanding between them about that tract of country which lay to the southward of the fortieth degree, north latitude, according to an eastern line drawn from two observations, each claiming it by virtue of his own grant. They therefore met at Newcastle to adjust it; but the matter was again put off by the Lord Baltimore to another season.

William Penn, finding that the difference was not likely to be soon adjusted by the claimants, wrote a letter to the Lords Committee of Plantations in England, to state to them his own case: but before an answer

swer could be returned, the Lord Baltimore commissioned his relation, Colonel George Talbot, to make a demand in writing of the tract in question. William Penn, on receiving it, gave an answer by letter. This letter together with that to the Lords of Plantations are to be seen in the histories of those times; but as they are of considerable length, and as the subject in dispute could only be interesting to those who were then concerned, it would be to swell this volume unnecessarily to copy them.

CHAPTER XX.

A. 1684—*violent conduct of the Lord Baltimore—opposes it by lenient measures—receives accounts of fresh persecutions for religion in England—determines to repair thither to use his influence with the Court to stop them—in the mean time settles a system of discipline for his own religious Society—holds conferences and makes treaties with the Indians—settles the dispute about the bank-lots—and forwards the building of his city—number of houses and population—total population of the settlers—provides for the Government in his absence—letter from S. Crisp—embarks—writes a farewell epistle to his friends—arrives in England—writes to Margaret Fox—and to S. Crisp—contents of the above letters.*

THE new year was ushered in by an unpleasant circumstance. The Lord Baltimore, not feeling satisfied with the letter which has been just mentioned to have been sent to him as an answer to his demand, ordered forcible entry to be made into certain plantations within the Territories or *three lower counties of the Delaware.* This outrage having been reported, William Penn summoned his Council for advice. The result was, that William Welsh was dispatched to Maryland to the Lord Baltimore with another letter, the exact copy of the former; but he

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was to see that it was put into the Governor's own hand. He was instructed also to use his influence to reinstate those who had been dispossessed of their freeholds, and, in case gentle means should fail, to prosecute the invaders legally. William Welsh performed his mission; but in a month afterward Colonel Talbot went with three musqueteers to the houses of the Widow Ogle, Jonas Erskin, and others, and made proclamation there, that if they would not forthwith yield obedience to the Lord Baltimore, and own him as their proprietor, and pay their rent to him, he would turn them out of their houses, and take their lands from them. To meet this new outrage it was thought sufficient in the first instance, that the Government of Pennsylvania should issue a public declaration, which should contain the title of William Penn to the tract in question, and such other statements as the case might seem to require. This was done accordingly; and as no similar disturbance took place in this year, so no other measure was adopted.

The mind of William Penn had been, as may naturally be supposed, considerably harassed by his attention to his various

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American concerns, but particularly by the dispute between him and the Lord Baltimore. But that which grieved him most was the receipt of a series of accounts from England, all confirming the persecutions under which persons who dissented from the Established Church, but particularly those of the Society to which he himself belonged, were then labouring there on account of their religion. Meetings in places of worship not acknowledged by the law continued to be deemed riots, so that hundreds convicted on this account were then in a state of suffering. Let one instance suffice for all. Sir Dennis Hampson, a justice of the peace, breaking with a party of horse into a little meeting near Wooburn in his own neighbourhood in the preceding year, sent most of the men whom he found there, to the number of twenty-three, to Aylesbury gaol, though the greater part of them consisted of persons who supported themselves and families entirely by their own labour. In a few days afterward the quarter-sessions were held at Buckingham, where Sir Dennis, not finding it convenient to attend, directed that they should be indicted

dicted for a riot. Being conveyed to Buckingham, they were indicted accordingly. They were then asked to give bail. W. Woodhouse, W. Mason, and J. Reeve, who were none of them Quakers, but who had been only casually at the meeting, entered into a recognizance to appear at the next session. The others refused to do this, and begged that they might be tried forthwith; but their petition not being granted, they were returned to gaol. In the mean time, that is, between this and the next session, Mason died, and Reeve absconded. The rest, however, when the time came, were brought to trial. They were all found guilty of a riot, though they had been sitting peaceably together and in silence, and though there had been no proclamation made, and no one had been ordered to depart. The sentence was, That each should be fined a noble, and kept in prison till it was paid, or during the King's pleasure. W. Woodhouse, a relation stepping forward to pay his fine and fees for him, was discharged. T. Dell and E. Moore were discharged by the like means; and shortly after S. Pewsey, the parish to which he belonged furnishing the money for him,

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in order that his wife and family might be no longer chargeable to it. The other seventeen, being all Quakers, and therefore unable conscientiously to procure bail, namely, T. and W. Sexton, T. Child, R. Moor, R. James, W. and R. Aldridge, J. Ellis, G. Salter, J. Smith, W. Tanner, W. Batchelor, J. Dolbin, A. Brothers, R. Baldwyn, J. Jennings, and R. Austin, lay in gaol till King James's proclamation of pardon, *which did not take place till about three years afterward.*

Accounts of these and similar persecutions coming to his ear, from time to time, across the Atlantic, gave him great uneasiness, and worked upon his benevolent feelings so as to produce in him by degrees the resolution of returning to England. He indulged a hope, that his affairs in America would not suffer by a short absence, but that in the interim he might become an instrument, by using his personal influence with the King, of relieving in some degree, if not putting a stop to, the sufferings of his oppressed countrymen and friends. To this resolution other considerations, lawfully and honourably connected both with his private interest and his character, contributed.

tributed. There is no doubt, when he thought of repairing to England for the purpose now mentioned, that the desire he had to settle the dispute with Lord Baltimore about the boundary-lines of the two provinces, and which could only be finally terminated by the Lords' Committee of Plantations in London, biassed him the same way. Nor did it escape him that, by meeting his enemies there, who were then numerous, he would be enabled to do away the many calumnies which they had propagated concerning him in his absence. He determined therefore, but originally and principally for the first of the reasons given, as we may collect from his own letters, to leave America for awhile. All the writers too of his Life agree in this as his leading motive. Oldmixon, among others, in his "British Empire in America," speaks thus: "Mr. Penn staid in Pennsylvania two years, and would not then have removed to England, had not persecution against the Dissenters raged so violently, that he could not think of enjoying peace in America while his brethren in England were so cruelly dealt with in Europe. He knew he had an interest with the Court of England, and

and was willing to employ it for the safety, ease, and welfare of his friends."

But though he had determined upon a temporary absence, he foresaw that he could not realize his intention at once. Many things were to be done before he could depart with satisfaction. He resolved therefore to apply himself to these, and this with an industry in proportion to the shortness of his stay.

One object which he had in view was the better organization of a system of discipline for those of his own Society within his American dominions. He had already attended to their religious interests as a minister of the Gospel. He had preached both throughout the Province and Territories, to the edification of many: but, now that he was going to leave them, he was desirous of improving the rules for their orderly walking, and particularly as disputes still continued among them on this subject.

Another object, and this near his heart, was to know, not only all the Indians within his own domains, but those bordering upon them, with a view to their civilization and the perpetuation of love and friendship on both

both sides. He had held frequent conferences with them for these purposes; in which he had advised them against the use of strong liquors, and endeavoured to inculcate in them a just sense of the benefit of a Christian life and conduct: but now he redoubled his efforts, and this with so much success, that, before the time of his departure came, he had made, at Pennsbury and other places, treaties of amity *with no less than nineteen tribes of a different name.* Indeed nothing could exceed his love for these poor people, or his desire of instructing them, so as to bring them by degrees to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and in this great work he spared no expense, though whatever he bestowed in this way came solely out of his own pocket. Oldmixon says "*that he laid out several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them.*" The consequence was, on their part, an attachment to him and his successors, which was never broken.

Another object was to forward, to the utmost of his power, the buildings that were to constitute his new city. There was a dispute at this time about the high and dry bank

bank near the shore, which fronted the Delaware River, in which *the Caves* were described to have been made. This bank and the shore adjoining to it were of particular value, because they were the roads as it were for goods that were to be passed either to or from the city and the water. He thought it proper therefore immediately to terminate this dispute. Accordingly, in answer to an Address "from several of the Adventurers, Freeholders, and Inhabitants in the City of Philadelphia, respecting the Front or Bank Lots along the Side of the Delaware, who claimed the Privilege to build Vaults or Stores in the Bank against their respective Lots, and to enjoy them as their Right," he informed them, that he considered the Bank as a Common from end to end; that the rest next the water belonged to front-lot men no more than to back-lot men; that the way [illegible] them; that they might build stairs; that they might use the bank for a common exchange or walk; and that against the street common wharfs might be built freely, but that he had not sold the shore nor the land [illegible] the water to any man. Having thus settled the matter, by which the advantages

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to be derived from the bank were to be common to all, he directed his attention towards promoting the progress of the city. He gave encouragement to those who were erecting houses to advance with spirit in their progress, and to those who had determined upon their sites to proceed forthwith from the ground; and so active was he in this department also, that *nearly three hundred houses* were to be seen on his own plan before he departed. Moll and Oldmixon both agree in this particular, as well as that the inhabitants of Philadelphia amounted in this year *to two thousand five hundred persons* of all descriptions. He had also by this time established *twenty townships* in his dominions; in which altogether, including his own countrymen and naturalized foreigners, he had a population of *about seven thousand souls*.

While he was employed in this manner, the ketch Endeavour arrived from England, and anchored opposite to Philadelphia. She brought both passengers and letters. Among the latter he received one from his esteemed friend Stephen Crisp, whom I had occasion to mention in a preceding chapter. This

letter was afterwards published; and though I have nothing to do either with it or with the Life of this worthy minister to which it was annexed, I cannot, considering how applicable it was to the situation of William Penn at this time as well as valuable in other respects, resist the desire I feel of giving an extract from it.

"Dear William," says the writer, "I have had a great exercise of spirit concerning thee, which none knows but the Lord; for my spirit has been much bowed into thy concern, and difficulty of thy present circumstances; and I have had a sense of the various spirits, and intricate cares, and multiplicity of affairs, and these of various kinds, which daily attend thee, enough to drink up thy spirit, and tire thy soul; and which, if it be not kept to the inexhaustible Fountain, may be dried up. And this I must tell thee, which thou also knowest, that the highest capacity of natural wit and parts will not, and cannot, perform what thou hast to do, namely, to propagate and advance the interest and profit of the Government and Plantation, and at the same time to give the interest of Truth and testimony of the holy name

name of God their due preference in all things: for to make the wilderness sing forth the praise of God is a skill beyond the wisdom of this world. It is greatly in man's power to make a wilderness into fruitful fields according to the common course of God's providence, who gives wisdom and strength to the industrious; but then how he, who is the Creator, may have his due honour and service thereby, is only taught by the Spirit in them who singly wait upon him."

Having made up his mind to return to England in the vessel which brought the above letter, he began to consider of all those appointments which were necessary for carrying on the Government of the Province and Territories during his absence. When therefore it was announced to him, that the Endeavour was ready to return, he signed a Commission, empowering the Provincial Council to act in the Government in his stead, of which he named Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker preacher, who came originally from Wales, the President. He gave also commissions to the following persons: to the before-mentioned Thomas Lloyd, to

keep the Great Seal; to his relation Colonel Markham, to be Secretary to the Province and Territories, or Three lower Counties of the Delaware; to Thomas Holme, to be Surveyor-general of the same; to Thomas Lloyd, James Claypole, and Robert Turner, to sign Patents and grant Warrants for Lands; to William Clark, to be a Justice of the Peace for the whole Jurisdiction; and to Nicholas Moore, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, to act as Provincial Judges for two years, whose Commission ran in these words:

"William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylania and the Territories thereunto belonging:

"To my trusty and loving Friends, N. Moore, W. Welch, W. Wood, R. Turner, and J. Eckley, greeting:

"Reposing especial confidence in your justice, wisdom, and integrity, I do, by virtue of the King's authority derived unto me, constitute you Provincial Judges for the Province and Territories, and any legal number of you a Provincial Court of Judicature, both fixed and circular, as is by law directed, giving you and every of you full power to

act therein according to the same; strictly charging you, and every of you, to do justice to all, and of all degrees, without delay, fear, or reward: And I do hereby require all persons within the Province and Territories aforesaid to give you due obedience and respect, belonging to your station, in the discharge of your duties. This Commission to be in force during two years ensuing the date hereof, you and every of you behaving yourselves well therein, and acting according to the same.

"Given at Philadelphia the fourth of the sixth month, 1684, being the thirty-sixth year of the King's reign, and the fourth of my Government."

Having thus provided for the Government during his absence, he went on board the Endeavour; from whence, just before he sailed, he wrote the following letter:

"To Thomas Lloyd, J. Claypole, J. Simcock, C. Taylor, and J. Harrison, to be communicated in Meetings in Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging among Friends.

"My love and my life is to you, and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance

distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over! O that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands, and let it be your first care how you may glorify him in your undertakings! for to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying, and improving, will be sanctified: but if any forget him, and call not upon his name in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them, and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

"O, you are now come to a quiet land; provoke not the Lord to trouble it! And now that liberty and authority are with you and in your hands, let the Government be upon his shoulders in all your spirits, that you may rule for Him under whom the Princes of this world will one day esteem it

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their honour to govern and serve in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apostles said of old, 'What manner of persons ought we to be in all godly conversation?' Truly the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you as to the discharge of yourselves in your present station, many eyes being upon you; and remember that, as We have been belied about disowning the true Religion, so, of all Government, to behold Us exemplary and Christian in the use of it will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many on that account prejudiced. O that you may see and know that service, and do it for the Lord in this your day!

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail, has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

"O that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayest be preserved to the

the end! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects my heart and mine eye.——The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and peace!

"So, dear Friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you!——So says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth,

"WILLIAM PENN."

Soon after this he sailed——to the regret of the whole colony;——to the regret of the Dutch, Swedes, and Germans, whom he had admitted into full citizenship with the rest, and who had found in him an impartial Governor and a kind friend;——to the regret of the Indians, who had been overcome by his love, care, and concern for them;——and to the regret of his own countrymen, who had partaken more or less of that generosity which was one of the most prominent features in his character.

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And here I may observe, with respect to his generosity, that the whole colony had experienced it; for it ought never to be forgotten, that when the first Assembly offered him an impost on a variety of goods both imported and exported (which impost in a course of years would have become a large revenue of itself), he nobly refused it; thus showing that his object in coming among them was not that of his own aggrandizement, but for the promotion of a public good.

The day on which he sailed was the twelfth of August, and that on which he landed in England was the third or fourth of October; so that he had a passage of about seven weeks. A letter has been preserved, dated London, the twenty-ninth of the eighth month, which he wrote soon after his arrival, to Margaret Fox, the wife of the celebrated George Fox, which fixes the latter date, and which makes us acquainted with some other particulars concerning him. "It is now," says he, "a few days above three weeks since I arrived well in my native land. It was within seven miles of my own house, where I found my dear wife and poor children well, to the overcoming

overcoming of my heart because of the mercies of the Lord to us." We find by this letter, in which he thanked her for the love she had shown his wife during his absence, and by which, he said, his heart and soul were affected, that he had experienced no sickness or indisposition while in Pennsylvania, "that he had not missed a meal's meat or a night's rest since he went to that country; and that wonderfully had the Lord preserved him through many troubles, in the settlement he had made, both with respect to the government and the soil." With respect to the settlement, notwithstanding the false reports in circulation, reports arising from envy, he could say "that things went on sweetly with Friends there, that many increased finely in their outward things and grew also in wisdom, and that their Meetings were blessed, of which there were no less than eighteen in the province. It appears, by this letter, that he had already been at Court. "He had seen the King and the Duke of York. They and their Nobles had been very kind to him, and he hoped the Lord would make way for him in their hearts to serve his suffering people, as also his own interest

interest as it related to his American concerns."

Another letter has been preserved, which he wrote, some weeks after that to Margaret Fox, to his friend Stephen Crisp. This worthy minister had written to him since his arrival in England, to inform him of the many reports in circulation that were injurious to his character. The letter therefore in question was to satisfy his friend as to the falsehood of what he had heard. By means of it (for the letter of S. Crisp is lost) we become acquainted with the charges that were made against him. It appears, among other things, that his enemies had laid hold of some circumstance which had been reported to have taken place under his government, by which they would have had it inferred that he had given his sanction to some military proceedings, and therefore that he had dishonoured his religious profession as a Quaker. To this he replied, that "he knew of no act of hostility. There was an old timber-house at Newcastle, above the Sessions-chamber, standing upon a green, on which lay seven old iron small cannon, some on the ground, and others on broken carriages;

carriages; but there was neither a military man, nor powder, nor bullet, belonging to them. They were the property of the Government of New York. How far the people of Newcastle might, in consequence of Colonel Talbot's threatenings, have drawn them into security and paled about their prison since he came away, he could not tell: but he was sure that, while he was there, no soldier or militiaman was ever seen; nor had any individual any commission of war from him, nor was there any law to that end. With respect to making money of the settlement, another of the charges, he had never made it a matter of gain; but had hazarded his life, and maintained Government and Governor these four years past. He had been a gainer, if he had given the land, had transported free, and had had a house built for him but half as good as he left behind him. With respect to the alteration of the Charter, about which there had been so much clamour, what had been altered (and that very little) had been by the people's desire, and not for any end of his own. Besides, the alteration was not immutable, as it was to be submitted to time,

time, and place, and the public good. And with regard to the addition lately made to Philadelphia, it could afford no just cause of complaint. He had bought the land there of the old inhabitants, the Swedes. This had enabled him to add eight hundred acres to the city, and a mile on a navigable river. What he had thus bought, he had given freely to the public; though, had he retained it, considering its situation, it had been of extraordinary advantage to himself. But he could not," he said, "hope to please all." Thus we see that the best of men have their enemies; and that, where prejudice has once taken root in the mind, every thing is viewed through a false medium. The good that is connected with it is diminished, and the evil magnified: nay, the very name and nature of the thing are changed; so that avarice itself is fixed upon the most generous and patriotic motives.

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CHAPTER XXI.

A. 1685—*gives an account of the death of Charles the Second—is in great favour with James the Second—has frequent interviews with the King—endeavours to stop persecution—intercedes for John Locke—becomes unpopular by his attendance at Court—called Papist and Jesuit—correspondence between him and Tillotson on this subject—present at two public executions—affairs of Pennsylvania—irregularities and abuses in his absence—writes over to correct them—Assembly impeach Moore and arrest Robinson—their letter to him on the subject.*

WILLIAM PENN had two objects in view, as I observed before, in returning to England. The first and most important was to try to stop, if possible, the cruel arm of persecution; and the second was to procure a speedy adjustment of the difference between him and the Lord Baltimore. With respect to the first, he had made some little progress in it, having obtained a sort of promise from the King that he would do something in behalf of those whose cause he pleaded; and with respect to the second, he brought it to a final issue. The Lords' Committee of Plantations, having inspected the grants and heard the evidence on both sides,

sides, made their report to the King; and the King decided, that the land should be divided into two equal parts. The part on the Chesapeake was to be given to the Lord Baltimore. The part on the Delaware was to relapse to the Crown. This latter part, however, was ultimately intended for William Penn.

Soon after this the King died of an apoplexy. William Penn, in one of his letters written at this time to Thomas Lloyd, whom he had left President of his Provincial Council, gives an account of his death; and as there are some curious particulars in it relative to the King himself and those about him, as well as to what passed both in and out of Court, at the time, which he, from his frequent access to the Royal Family since his arrival in England, had an opportunity of knowing, I shall lay an extract from it before the reader.

"The King is dead, and the Duke succeeds peaceably. He was well on the first day (Sunday) night. About eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways or sides; and he gave a shriek and fell as dead, and so remained some

some hours. They opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with red-hot frying-pans. He returned (revived) and continued till sixth day noon, but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged, prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world, the Duke appearing mighty humble and sorrowful.——He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom. The present King was proclaimed about three o'clock that day. A Proclamation followed, with the King's Speech to maintain the Church and State as established, to keep property and use clemency. Tonnage and Poundage, with the Excise, are revived *de bene esse* till the Parliament meet ——One is now choosing——The people of Westminster just gone by to choose——It sits the nineteenth of the third month next. In Scotland one next month.——Severities continue still, but some ease to us faintly promised.——Be careful that no indecent speeches pass against the Government, for the King going with his Queen publicly to mass in Whitehall gives occasion.——He declared he concealed himself

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to obey his brother, and that now he would be aboveboard; which We like the better on many accounts.——I was with him, and told him so; but withal hoped We should come in for a share.——He smiled, and said he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion.——And till his coronation, the twenty-third, when he and his consort are together to be crowned, no hopes of release; and till the Parliament, no hopes of any fixed liberty.——My business, I would hope, is better.——The late King, the Papists will have, died a Roman Catholic; for he refused (after his usual way of evading uneasy things, with unpreparedness first, and then weakness) the Church of England's Communion, Bishop Ken of Wells pressing him, that it would be to his comfort and that of his people to see he died of that religion he had made profession of when living; but it would not do.——And once, all but the Duke, Earl of Bath, and Lord Feversham, were turned out; and one Huddlestone, a Romish priest, was seen about that time near the chamber.——This is most of our news.——The Popish Lords and Gentry go to Whitehall to mass daily; and the Tower,

or Royal Chapel, is crammed by vying with the Protestant Lords and Gentry. The late King's children even by the Duchess of Portsmouth go thither."——

Charles the Second being dead was succeeded by his brother, who then became James the Second. It may be recollected that Vice-admiral Penn, when he was on his death-bed, recommended his son to the care and guardianship of the latter, when Duke of York. From this period a more regular acquaintance grew up between them, and intimacy followed. During this intimacy, however William Penn might have disapproved, as he did, of the religious opinions of his guardian, he was attached to him from a belief that he was a friend to liberty of conscience. Entertaining this opinion concerning him, he conceived it to be his duty, now that he had become King, to renew his intimacy with him, and this in a stronger manner than ever, that he might forward the great object for which he had crossed the Atlantic, namely, the relief of those unhappy persons who were then suffering on account of their religion. He determined therefore to reside near him

for

for these purposes, and accordingly he took lodgings for himself and family at Kensington.

It appears, while he resided there, that he spent his time, and that he used his influence with the King, solely in doing good. All politics he avoided, never touching upon them unless called upon; and then he never espoused a party, but did his best to recommend moderation and to allay heats. If he ever advised the King, it was for his own real interest and the good of the nation at large. Generally speaking, however, he confined himself to the object before mentioned; and in endeavouring to promote this, he was alive to the situation not only of those of his own religious Society, but of those of other Christian denominations who were then languishing in the gaols of the kingdom.

Among the first applications which he made to the King was one, the remembrance of which will always do honour to his memory. It was in behalf of the venerable John Locke, who had followed his patron, the Earl of Shaftsbury, into Holland, when he fled there to avoid the further persecu-

tion of his own Court. Locke himself had been deprived, only the preceding year, of his place of Student of Christ-church, Oxford, with all its rights and advantages, by the command of the late King, and was at this time in danger of being seized and sent to England in consequence of the opposition he had given to Popery and arbitrary power. It was at this moment then that William Penn applied. His application was successful. At least James the Second permitted William Penn to inform Locke that he should be pardoned. The message was accordingly sent. Locke in return expressed his sense of the friendship of William Penn, but said that he had no occasion for a pardon when he had not been guilty of any crime. This reminds me of a similar answer from George Fox to Charles the Second. This prince, touched by the hard case of the former, offered to discharge him from prison by a pardon; but he declined it on the idea that, as a pardon implied guilt, his innocence might be called in question by the acceptance of it. Thus men of high moral feeling disdain even deliverance from oppression on terms which would implicate their honour.

That

That we may judge of the attention shown to William Penn by James the Second, and of the almost incessant employment of Penn in behalf of others, during his residence at Kensington, I shall copy the following passage from Gerard Croese:

"William Penn was greatly in favour with the King, the Quakers' sole patron at Court, on whom the hateful eyes of his enemies were intent. The King loved him as a singular and entire friend, and imparted to him many of his secrets and counsels. He often honoured him with his company in private, discoursing with him of various affairs, and that not for one but many hours together, and delaying to hear the best of his Peers who at the same time were waiting for an audience. One of these being envious, and impatient of delay, and taking it as an affront to see the other more regarded than himself, adventured to take the freedom to tell His Majesty, that when he met with Penn he thought little of his Nobility. The King made no other reply, than that Penn *always talked ingenuously, and he heard him willingly.* Penn, being so highly favoured, acquired thereby a number of friends. Those also who

who formerly knew him, when they had any favour to ask at Court, came to, courted, and entreated Penn to promote their several requests. Penn refused none of his friends any reasonable office he could do for them; but was ready to serve them all, but more especially the Quakers, and these wherever their religion was concerned. It is usually thought, when you do me one favour readily, you thereby encourage me to expect a second. Thus they ran to Penn without intermission, as their only pillar and support, who always caressed and received them cheerfully, and effected their business by his interest and eloquence. Hence his house and gates were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and suppliants desiring him to present their addresses to His Majesty. There were sometimes there *two hundred and more.* When the carrying on these affairs required money for writings, such as drawing things out into form and copyings, and for fees and other charges which are usually made on such occasions, Penn so discreetly managed matters, that out of his own, which he had in abundance, he liberally discharged many emergent expenses."

But

But though this reception, and the use he made of his interest at Court, enabled him to serve many, they were attended with great disadvantages to himself; for at this time the whole kingdom was in a ferment. The people, considering James the Second as a professed Papist, were filled with the most alarming apprehensions, lest (as in the days of Queen Mary) he should endeavour by means of persecution to overthrow the Protestant and establish the Popish religion in its stead. Knowing therefore that William Penn was so frequently at Court, and that his doors at Kensington were daily crowded with strangers, of whose errand there they were ignorant, they began to suspect that he was of the same religious profession with the King. Hence he was now openly talked of as a professed Papist also. He was bred, it was said, at St. Omer's, and he had received Priest's orders at Rome. The term *Jesuit* was revived, but with a tenfold energy. Nay, it was even supposed that he was planning with the King for the subversion of the religion of the realm. Reports of this sort not only injured him, but the Quakers also, in the eyes of the public, so that neither one

one nor the other went out of doors without occasionally meeting with abuse.

Among other things invented to prejudice him with the nation, two copies of verses were printed, in which the author was made to condole on the late King's death, and to offer his congratulations on the accession of the present. To each of these copies were affixed W.P. which were the initials of his name. The verses were purposely imputed to him; and the clamour becoming general against him on this account, he resolved to try to undeceive the public, but not so much on his own account as because the members of his own religious Society might suffer by his silence. He wrote therefore a paper, dated from his seat at Worminghurst, where he had gone for a little repose, called "Fiction found out," which he addressed to the Quakers as a body. In this paper, after showing the inconsistency of the charge against him, and this in a vein of wit and ridicule, he explained the foundation of his religious faith, and his civil conduct as it had been to all descriptions of men, and concluded with this observation: "I have ever loved England, and moderation to all parties

parties in it, and long seen and foreseen the consequences of the want of it. I would yet heartily wish it might take place, and Persuasion instead of Persecution, that we might *not grow barbarous for Christianity, nor abuse and undo one another for God's sake.*"

But this letter produced little or no effect. They who espoused the Protestant cause from a belief that its prosperity was essentially connected with the best interests of the kingdom, were so alarmed at this particular moment, that they did not see as it were with their usual eyes, but allowed themselves to be carried down with the stream: and however excellent both the public and private character of William Penn was acknowledged to be, there were persons, and these exalted by their station, understanding, and worth, nay, such as had even known him, who not only began to be shy of him, but to mention to others the reports that were then afloat concerning him. Among these was that excellent man Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. William Penn, upon hearing this, was much hurt, and the more so, because he had a regard

regard for the Doctor personally, and because he knew the high estimation in which he was held in the nation. He wrote to him therefore, when he returned to London, the following letter:

"Being often told that Dr. Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me, a Papist, I think a Jesuit, and being closely prest, I take the liberty to ask thee if any such reflection fell from thee. If it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and if the story be false, I am sorry they should abuse Dr. Tillotson as well as myself without a cause. I add no more, but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them.—The first *is Obedience upon Authority without Conviction*, and the other *the destroying them that differ from me for God's sake.* Such a religion is without judgement, though not without teeth. Union is best, if right; else Charity: and, as Hooker said, the time will come when a few words spoken with meekness, humility, and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies, which commonly destroy charity, which is the very best

best part of the true religion; I mean not a charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I can Dr. Tillotson in what he dissents from me, and in this reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by thy Christian true Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

This letter produced from Dr Tillotson the following open, candid, and polite answer; which as it breathed a spirit of liberality in religion worthy of his superior education, so it peculiarly qualified him for that high station which he afterwards filled with no less honour to himself than usefulness to his country.

"HONOURED SIR,

"The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind; therefore, in answer to it, be pleased to take the following account:

"The last time you did me the favour to see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use where I profess any friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of

of the Jesuits there. At which you seemed a little surprised; and, after some general discourse about it, you said you would call on me some other time, and speak further of it. Since that time I never saw you, but by accident and in passage, where I thought you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to me, and told what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular esteem of your parts and temper. The same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to whom I do not so particularly remember. Since your going to Pennsylvania I never thought more of it, till lately being in some company, one of them pressed me to declare whether I had not heard something of you which had satisfied me that you were a Papist? I answered, No; by no means. I told him what I had heard, and what I said to you, and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but that this never went further with me than to make me suspect there was more in that

that report which I had heard than I was at first willing to believe; and that if any made more of it, I should look upon them as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and myself.

"This is the truth of that matter; and whenever you will please to satisfy me that my suspicion of the truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you *in the abhorrence of the two principles* you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr. Hooker, for which I shall ever highly esteem him. I have endeavoured *to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate any thing of humanity and charity to any man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do them all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest.* I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper of it, and rest your faithful Friend,

"JO. TILLOTSON."

Upon

Upon the receipt of this letter William Penn made the following manly but yet respectful reply:

"WORTHY FRIEND,

"Having a much less opinion of my own memory than of Dr. Tillotson's truth, I will allow the fact, though not the jealousy; for, besides that I cannot look strange where I am well used, I have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business. I was also then disappointed by the Doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and my principle least of all. It was the opinion I have had of the Doctor's moderation, simplicity, and integrity, rather than his parts or post, that always made me set a value upon his friendship, of which perhaps I am better judge, leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if, in my affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr. Tillotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession:

confession: I have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome (though Protestants may have without offence), but I hold none with any Jesuit, priest, or regular in the world of that communion. And that the Doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, I know not one any where. And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholic, though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean liberty of the exercise of my religion, thinking Faith, Piety, and Providence, a better security than Force; and that if Truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

"Now, though I am not obliged to this defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to make it; yet that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his good opinion, and dare own the truth and myself at all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence than the best Church authority in the world; and yet I refuse not to believe the porter, though I cannot leave the sense to his discretion; and when I should,

if

if he offends against those plain methods of understanding God hath made us to know things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must beg his pardon, as I do the Doctor's, for this length, upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my "Address to Protestants" from p. 133 to the end, and to the first four chapters of my "No Cross No Crown," to say nothing of our *most unceremonious and unworldly way of worship and their pompous cult;* where at this time I shall leave the business with all due and sensible acknowledgements to thy friendly temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of thy affectionate, real Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In the course of this year William Penn was present at two public executions; the one of Gaunt, a female, who was burnt; and the other of Cornish. The former was a most amiable woman. She had spent her life in doing good, as in visiting the gaols, and in looking after the poor of whatever persuasion they were. Out of kind feeling

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to a stranger apparently in distress, she received him for a time into her house. He proved to be a rebel; and because she had thus harboured him she suffered. Cornish had been Sheriff of London. Two infamous persons, Rumsey and Goodenough, had conspired to swear him guilty of that for which the Lord Russel had suffered. Whether William Penn was in the habit of attending spectacles of this kind, I know not. It is a fact, however, that men of the most noted benevolence have felt and indulged a curiosity of this sort. They have been worked upon by different motives; some perhaps by a desire of seeing what human nature would be at such an awful crisis;——what would be its struggles;——what would be the effects of innocence or guilt;——what would be the power of religion on the mind;——what would be the influence of particular tenets as to hardened or holy dying.——In short, we cannot fathom the motives of men on such occasions, and of course we can know nothing for certain of those which influenced William Penn. We may say, at any rate, that the mournful events which took place were extraordinary: and, if I

were allowed to conjecture, I should say that he consented to witness the scenes in question with a view to good; with a view of being able to make an impression on the King by his own relation of things, that he might induce him to withhold his sanction at a future time to such unjust determinations of the law: and in this conjecture I am in some degree borne out by a passage in Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times; for when he, the historian, in a conversation with William Penn on the subject of Cornish's execution, said that Cornish asserted his innocence with great vehemence, and complained with acrimony of the methods taken to destroy him, and that from these circumstances it had been given out that he died in a fit of fury; William Penn replied, that "there appeared nothing in Cornish's conduct at the place of execution but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give." This was in some measure a censure upon the King, who had confirmed the bloody sentence: but he went further; for immediately after this he observed to Burnet, that "the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effusion of

of blood by Jefferies's impetuous and cruel temper:" and he added, that "if the King's own inclinations had not been biassed that way, and if his priests had not thought it the interest of their party to let that butcher loose, by whom so many men that were like to oppose them were put out of the way, it was not to be imagined that there would have been such a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in so many instances."

With respect to America, he had received since his residence in England several letters, both private and official, from that quarter. He was pleased to find that the members of his own Society had conducted themselves generally well, and that they had endeavoured to promote one of his favourite objects. They had been careful to prevent the introduction of strong liquors among the Indians, and they had held several religious meetings with them. The Indians, it appeared, generally heard with patience what was said to them at these times, and seemed affected by it; but the impression was not durable. These efforts, however, were very pleasing to one who knew well that every work must have a beginning, and that the

best could not be brought to perfection without perseverance.

As to the other intelligence contained in these letters, it was far from agreeable. Indeed it gave him great uneasiness. We may judge of the nature of it from some of his answers to Thomas Lloyd, the President of his Council, which have been preserved. He insisted upon it, that the number of ordinaries or drinking-houses should be immediately reduced, and this without respect of persons, those only being allowed to continue them who had given proofs of their fitness for the situation by their conduct. All persons also, who had made the *Caves* in the bank of the river before mentioned receptacles for improper company, were forthwith to be ordered to get up their houses elsewhere. The above Caves were to be reserved, when empty, for the accommodation of such poor families as might go over. He deprecated the heavy charges to which individuals had been subjected during his absence for the title to their lands. "It is an abominable thing," says he, "to have three warrants for one purchase. It is oppression, which my soul loathes. I do hereby require,

require, that P. L. be called to account for requests and warrants for Town-lot, Liberty-lot, and the rest of the purchase. Why not one warrant for all, at least for Liberty-lot and the remainder? This is true and right oppression. Besides, several things and sums are set down, which are neither in Law nor in my Regulations." He was displeased also with T. Holme for improper charges in his department. He instructed the President to speak earnestly to him of the reports that had come over of his drinking collations, by which he felt himself much distressed and his Government dishonoured. A bill of twelve pounds had been sent in to a purchaser of land for expenses incurred in this manner. This sum, together with the charge for the survey, amounted to one quarter of the whole purchase of the land. But, above all, he was grieved to find that animosities had begun to creep in on the score of Government. "I am sorry at heart," says he, "for these. Cannot more friendly and private courses be taken to set matters right in an infant Province, whose steps are numbered and watched? He entreated them, for the love of God, of himself, and the poor country,

country, that they would not be so open in their dissatisfactions." Having explained his mind in these particulars, he held out the expectation, that, if not prevented, he should return to Pennsylvania and resume the Government in the course of the next fall.

It appears, from the above extracts, that he had not long left the colony before it fell into disorder; which shows how much his presence had been the life and support of it. And this disorder, which began with one or two individuals of looser character, spread to the bodies politic. The Assembly, where the animosities above mentioned first showed themselves, proceeded so far as to impeach one of their members, and to arrest another. Having done this, they instructed their Speaker John White to inform the Governor of the fact; which he did in the following letter:

"MOST EXCELLENT GOVERNOR,

"We, the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories, do, with unfeigned love to your person and government, with all due respect acquaint you, that we have this last day of our session passed all such Bills as we judged meet to pass into Laws, and

and impeached Nicholas Moore, a member of the Assembly, of ten articles containing divers high crimes and misdemeanours, and, in the presence of the President and Provincial Council, made very clear proof of the said articles.

"We have had the person of Patrick Robinson under restraint for divers insolencies and affronts to the Assembly;——but there was a right and good understanding betwixt the President, Council, and Assembly, and a happy and friendly farewell.

"Dear and honoured Sir, the honour of God, the love of your person, and the preservation of the peace and welfare of the Government, were, we hope, the only centre to which all our actions did tend. And although the wisdom of the Assembly thought fit to humble that aspiring and corrupt minister of state Nicholas Moore, yet to you, dear Sir, and to the happy success of your affairs, our hearts are open, and our hands ready at all times to subscribe ourselves, in the name of ourselves and all the Freemen we represent,

"Your obedient and faithful Freemen.

"JOHN WHITE, Speaker."

"P. S. Ho-

"P. S. Honoured Sir, We know your wisdom and goodness will make a candid construction of all our actions, and that it shall be out of the power of malicious tongues to separate betwixt our Governor and his Freemen, who extremely long for your presence, and speedy arrival of your person."

This letter, though it had the appearance of being both affectionate and respectful, was yet the cause of great uneasiness to William Penn: for Moore had conducted himself so well, not only as a private man, but in his office as President of the free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania, that the Governor had made him one of the Provincial Judges before his departure for England, as was mentioned in the last chapter. He feared therefore that the public disgrace brought upon him might lessen the weight and character of the magistracy. He believed, too, that Moore had been far too rigidly dealt with, the reputed misdemeanours being of a political and not of a moral nature; and believing this, he foresaw that he should be obliged to signify his opinion to the Assembly, by which the first stone would be cast, as it were, for at least a temporary disagreement between them.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXII.

A. 1686—*cry of Papist and Jesuit continued—further correspondence between him and Tillotson on the subject —writes "A further Account of Pennsylvania"—also "A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham"—also "A Persuasive to Moderation"—contents of the latter—proclamation for religious indulgence follows—goes to Holland on a religious errand—but undertakes a commission from the King to the Prince of Orange—meets Scotch fugitives there—his services to Sir Robert Steuart —travels as a preacher in England—affairs of Pennsylvania—displeased with the conduct of the Assembly —and also with that of the Council—alters the Government by a Commission—lodges the Executive in five persons—reinstates Moore—copy of the Commission.*

WILLIAM PENN and Doctor Tillotson had visited each other, since the interchange of the letters mentioned in the last chapter, in the most friendly manner, the Doctor having been fully satisfied that there was no foundation for the charge either of Papist or Jesuit. William Penn resided at that time in a house at Charing Cross. Since these letters, however, the belief that he was of the Roman Catholic persuasion had not abated in the public mind. On the other hand it had become more general; and as it was still increasing, and several continued

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to use the name of Dr. Tillotson to strengthen it, William Penn thought he might appeal with propriety to the Doctor to give him a letter, in which he should express that assurance of his own conviction on this subject, which he had acknowledged in the friendly intercourse which had taken place between them. For doing this a favourable opportunity offered; for a letter having been written to William Penn, in which the Doctor's name had been improperly used again, he sent it inclosed to him in the following short note:

"WORTHY FRIEND,

"This should have been a visit; but being of opinion that Dr. Tillotson is yet a debtor to me in this way, I chose to provoke him to another letter by this, before I made him one: for though he was very just and obliging when I last saw him, yet certainly no expression, however kindly spoken, will so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust imputation some people cast upon me in his name, as his own letter will do. The need of this he will better see when he has read the inclosed, which coming to hand since my last is, I presume, enough to justify this

this address, if I had no former pretensions. And therefore I cannot be so wanting to myself, as not to press him to a letter in my just defence, nor so uncharitable to him as to think he should not frankly write what he has said, when it is to right a man's reputation and disabuse the too credulous world. For to me it seems from a private friendship to become a moral duty to the public, which, with a person of so great morality, must give success to the reasonable desire of thy very real Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

Dr. Tillotson in answer to the above letter expressed himself thus:

"SIR,

"I am very sorry that the suspicion I had entertained concerning you, of which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you: and I do now declare with great joy, that I am fully satisfied that there was no just ground for that suspicion, and therefore do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter; and

and shall be ready to do it to the person that sent you the inclosed, whenever he will please to come to me. I am very much in the country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing Cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure. I rest your faithful Friend,

"JO. TILLOTSON."

This letter was very satisfactory to William Penn, and he showed it to great advantage whenever Dr. Tillotson had been quoted as either believing or promoting the report. In the mean time he had been diligently employed as an author. The first fruits of his labour in this department were "A further Account of Pennsylvania." This was followed by a publication of a very different sort. The Duke of Buckingham had written a book in favour of liberty of conscience, for which he had long been a known advocate. An anonymous writer had attempted to answer it, and in this answer had reflected upon the Duke, by saying that "the Pennsylvanian had entered him with his Quakeristical doctrine." This second publication then by William Penn was "A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book from

from the Exceptions of a nameless Author." Soon after this he ushered into the world a third work, called "A Persuasive to Moderation to dissenting Christians, in Prudence and Conscience, humbly submitted to the King and his great Council."

As the "Persuasive to Moderation" was designed to produce an effect on the rulers of the land in favour of religious toleration; and as the arguments contained in it may be supposed to be important on that account; and as the said arguments, if well founded, will always carry their weight with them in similar circumstances and cases; I shall stop awhile to submit them to the consideration of the reader.

William Penn, after a proper introductory epistle, reduced the objections to religious Toleration, which were then afloat, to these two points. First, "Toleration, say some, of Dissenting worships from the Established one is not practicable without danger to the State, with which it is interwoven." This is political. Secondly, "Admitting Dissenters to be in the wrong (which is always premised by the National Church) such latitude, that is, toleration to them, would

would be the way to keep up the disunion, and would, instead of compelling them into a better way, leave them in the possession and pursuit of their old errors." This is religious.

After certain observations he took up the first objection. He denied that Toleration endangered any State. "For this my opinion," says he, "we have the first and last, the best and greatest evidence, which is fact and experience, the wisdom of sages, and the journal and resolves of time.

"For, first, the Jews, who had the most to say for their Religion, and whose Religion was twin to their State (both being enjoined and sent with wonders from Heaven) *indulged strangers in their religious dissent.* They required but the belief of the Noachical principles, which were common to the world. *No idolater, and but a moral man, and he had his liberty*, aye, and some privileges too; for he had an apartment in the Temple, and this without danger to the Government. Thus Maimonides, and others of their own rabbies, and Grotius out of them.

"The wisdom of the Gentiles was also very admirable in this, that, though they had

had many sects of philosophers among them, each dissenting from the other in their moral principles, as well as discipline; yet they indulged them and the best livers with singular kindness, the greatest Statesmen and Captains often becoming patrons of the sects they best affected, honouring their readings with their presence and applause. So far were those ages, which we have made as the original of wisdom and politeness, from thinking Toleration an error of State, or dangerous to the Government. Thus Plutarch, Strabo, Laërtius, and others.

"To these instances I may add the latitude given by the Government of old Rome, that had almost as many deities as houses: for Varro tells us of no less than thirty thousand several sacra or religious rites among her people, and yet without a quarrel. Unhappy fate of Christianity, the best of religions! *and yet her professors maintain less charity than idolaters, while* it *should be peculiar to them. I fear it shows us to have but little of it at heart.*

"But nearer home, and in our own time, we see the effects of a discreet indulgence, even to emulation. Holland, that bog of the

the world, neither sea nor land, now the rival of tallest monarchs, not by conquests, marriages, or accession of royal blood, the usual ways to empire, but by her own superlative *clemency and industry; for the one was the effect of the other;—she cherished her people, whatever were their opinions, as the reasonable stock of the country, the heads and hands of her trade and wealth;* and making them easy in the main point, *their consciences*, she became great by them. This made her fill with people, and they filled her in return with riches and strength."

After the mention of Holland, he proceeded to an argument which he supposed might be drawn against his conclusions with respect to that country; namely, that though his position might be true in a commonwealth, where every individual thought he had a share in the Government, it might not be so in a monarchical state. In reply to this he maintained, that almost every age of monarchy afforded a cloud of witnesses, that religious toleration was no more dangerous in this than in the other case. To confirm this he quoted the conduct of Israel, which he called the most exact and sacred

pattern

pattern of monarchy; that of Ahasuerus to Mordecai and the Jews; that of Augustus, who sent hecatombs to Jerusalem; that of Jovianus, who settled the most embroiled time of the Christian world even to a miracle, bringing by one single act of religious Toleration unity to the state; that of Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius the Great. From thence he took a survey of the conduct of rulers in succeeding times, such as of the Kings of Poland and of Denmark, of the Dukes of Savoy and of Newburgh, of the Electors of Brandenburgh and of Saxony, and of several others exercising sovereign power, to the same end.

But he not only thus combated the argument against his own position, but he advanced two others: first, that more evils had befallen Princes living in countries *where all conformed, or who were under ecclesiastical union*, than in those living *under divided forms of government where Toleration was allowed:* and, secondly, that in those countries where men were tolerated in their religion, and where such evils had taken place, *the Conformist was not less culpable than the Dissenter.* Of these positions I have only

room to observe, that he endeavoured to substantiate them by an appeal to history, drawing apposite instances from it as the case required.

Having finished this topic, he proceeded to show both the prudence and reasonableness of religious Toleration, by the great benefits which would follow it. Among other arguments,—such as that property would be more secure, and that subjects would be more industrious, flourishing, satisfied, and happy,—he contended, as no trifling additional argument, that the Prince would in that case have the benefit, not of a part only, but of his whole people. "As things then stood, *No Churchman meant No Englishman, and No Conformist meant No Subject.* Thus (says he) it may happen, that *the ablest statesman, the bravest captain, and the best citizen may be disabled, and the Prince forbid their employment to his service.*

"Some instances," says he, "we have had since the late King's Restoration: for, upon the first Dutch war, my father being commanded to give in a list of the ablest sea officers in the kingdom to serve in that expedition, I do very well remember he presented

sented our present King with a catalogue of the knowingest and bravest officers the age had bred, with this subscribed, '*As to these men, if His Majesty will please to admit of their persuasions, I will answer for their skill, courage, and integrity.*' He picked them *by their ability, and not by their opinions:* and he was in the right, for that was the best way of doing the King's business. And of my own knowledge Conformity robbed the King at that time of ten men, whose greater knowledge and valour, than any one ten of that fleet had in their room, would have saved a battle or perfected a victory. I will name three of them. The first was old Vice-admiral Goodson, than whom nobody was more stout or more a seaman. The second was Captain Hill, that in the Sapphire beat Admiral Everson hand to hand, who came to the relief of old Trump. The third was Captain Potter, that in the Constant Warwick took Captain Beach after eight hours smart dispute. And as evident it is, that if a war had proceeded between this kingdom and France seven years ago, the business of Conformity had deprived the King of many land officers whose share in

the late wars of Europe had made them knowing and able."

After dwelling for some time upon the advantages likely to result from Toleration, he proceeded thus: "But I know it will be insinuated, that there is danger in building upon the union of divers interests.——But I will only oppose to that mere suggestion three examples to the contrary, with this challenge, that *if, after rummaging the records of all time, they find one instance to contradict me, I shall submit the question to their authority.*

"The first is given by those Christian Emperors who admitted all sorts of Dissenters into their armies, courts, and senates. This the ecclesiastical history of those times assures us, and particularly Socrates, Evagrius, and Onuphrius.

"The next instance is that of Prince William of Orange, who by a timely indulgence united the scattered strength of Holland, by which all, animated by the clemency as well as valour of their Captain, contributed to crown his attempts with an extraordinary glory; and what makes, continues great.

"The last is given us by Livy in his account

count of Hannibal's army, that they consisted of divers nations, customs, languages, and religions: that under all their successes of war and peace for thirteen years together, they never mutinied against their General, nor fell out among themselves. What Livy relates for a wonder the Marquis Virgilio Malvetzy gives the reason of, to wit, *their variety and difference well managed by their General:* 'For,' said he, 'it was impossible for so many nations, customs, and religions to combine, especially when the General's equal hand gave him more reverence with them than they had of affection for one another. 'This,' says he, 'some would wholly impute to Hannibal; but, however great he was, I attribute it to the variety of people in the army; for,' adds he, 'Rome's army was ever less given to mutiny when balanced with auxiliary legions than when entirely Roman.' So far Malvetzy. This argument he concluded by an appeal to nature. He considered the natural world as full of discordant things; but yet Providence by his own all-wise disposition had so brought them together, as to produce the most perfect harmony. In like manner he believed

that

that the concord of discords afforded a firm basis for Civil Government. The business was *to tune these discords well*, and that could be done by one who was a skilful musician."

The last argument which he advanced on this subject, was the experiment made at home by the late King in his Declaration of Indulgence to tender consciences in matters of religion, which came out in the year 1671, as mentioned in a former chapter. In speaking of the happy effect of this experiment, he writes thus: "Whitehall then and St. James's were as much visited and courted by the Dissenters and their respective agents, as if they had been of the family; for, that which eclipsed the royal goodness being by his own hand thus removed, his benign influences drew the returns of sweetness and duty from that part of his subjects which the want of those influences had made barren before. Then it was that we looked like the members of one family, and children of one parent; nor did we envy our eldest brother Episcopacy his inheritance, so that we had but a child's portion. For not only discontents vanished, but no matter

matter was left for ill spirits, foreign or domestic, to brood upon or hatch to mischief; which was a plain proof, that it is *the union of interests, and not of opinions*, that gives peace to kingdoms." Such a Declaration of Indulgence he hoped would be made again. He saw no other way of putting an end to civil animosities, "which, by fresh accidents falling in, had swelled to a mighty deluge, such an one as had overwhelmed our former civil concord and security. And pardon me (says he) if I say, I cannot see that those waters are like to assuage, till this olive-branch of indulgence be some way or other restored. The waves will still cover our earth, and a spot of earth will hardly be found in this our glorious isle for a great number of useful people to set a quiet foot upon. And, to pursue the allegory, what was the ark itself but the most apt and lively emblem of Toleration? a kind of natural temple of indulgence, in which we find two of every living creature dwelling together, of both sexes too, that they might propagate, and that *as well of the unclean as of the clean kind, so that the baser and less useful sort were saved.*"

With

With respect to the second objection, namely, that "admitting Dissenters to be in the wrong, (which was always premised by the National Church,) such latitude were the way to keep up the disunion; and, instead of compelling them to a better way, to leave them in the possession and pursuit of their old errors." I have no room to state the arguments which he advanced against it; nor is it necessary that I should, because every person thinking liberally will be able to furnish the answer, without any hesitation, from his own mind.

The above is the substance, though on a limited scale, of the "Persuasive to Moderation," which, when it came out, was said to have had a considerable effect both upon the King and his Council; for very soon after its appearance in public a proclamation was issued by the former for a general pardon to all those who were then in prison on account of their consciences. Instructions were accordingly given to the Judges of Assize to liberate in their several circuits all persons of this description. The result was, that of the Quakers only, not less than *twelve hundred persons* were restored to their families

families and friends, many of whom had been in confinement for years. That this happy event might have sprung in part, or, as far as the Council had any hand in it, from the "Persuasive to Moderation," as was then believed by many, is not improbable; but certain it is, as far as the King was concerned, that it was to be ascribed in a great measure to the personal solicitations of William Penn. There is no doubt that he had been previously influenced to it in consequence of the many conversations which the former had held with him on this subject, while he resided at Kensington; during which he never lost sight of the great object which he had left his own Government to promote. By means of these, he had opportunities of unfolding much more to the King on this subject than the "Persuasive to Moderation" itself contained; of arguing the case with him; and of enforcing his arguments by bringing to view the most affecting cases of individual suffering, and by painting the misery and wretchedness of the victims themselves, and the distress and ruin of their nearest and dearest connections, whom they were no longer

longer able to comfort and support. These opportunities he used for this purpose; and it is highly to his honour, as I have had occasion to observe before, that, when his most earnest entreaties were poured forth in behalf of the members of his own religious Society, they were extended for all others of his countrymen, of whatever religious denomination, who were suffering from the same cause.

William Penn, having witnessed the happy effects of this proclamation, determined upon a tour to the Continent to visit the churches there, and to diffuse the principles of his own religious Society yet further in these parts. The King, learning his intention, gave him a commission, which he was to execute in his way. He was to go to the Hague, and there confer with the Prince of Orange, and endeavour to gain his consent to a *general religious Toleration in England, together with the removal of all Tests.* It has been usually supposed, that, when the King wished for Toleration to his subjects, he had it principally in view to ease his favourites the Roman Catholics, knowing that, if a general law were made to that effect, they

they would feel the benefits of it in common with others, and that it was on their account solely that he was desirous of the measure. William Penn was not of this opinion. It was his firm belief, that, though James the Second was himself a Papist, he was yet a friend to religious liberty. But whether this his belief was correct or not, the commission given him by the King was so congenial to his own principles and feelings, that he joyfully undertook it. Accordingly, when he went to the Continent, he went first to the Hague, where he had several interviews with the Prince on the subject. At this time Burnet the historian was at the same court, endeavouring to prevail upon the Prince to give his sanction to *a Toleration in England, but not to the removal of Tests*. Here he and William Penn met. They spent several hours together in conversing upon the point in question. William Penn would not relax in the least. If Tests were to be a security for Toleration, they were unnecessary, because, if Dissenters conducted themselves unconstitutionally, they would come within the reach of the laws. This perseverance irritated Burnet. Indeed Burnet

was

was not well disposed to him before, believing him to be a Papist, if not a Jesuit. But now he was prejudiced against him, so that he never mentioned him afterwards but coldly, or sneeringly, or in a way to lower him in the estimation of the reader, whenever he had occasion to speak of him in the History of his own Times.

While William Penn was executing his commission, he found an introduction to several persons, both English and Scotch, who had fled their country on account of persecution for their religion, and, among others, to one to whom it is said he rendered important service afterward. The service alluded to is explained by the Earl of Buchan, in his Lives of Fletcher of Saltoun and Thomson, in whose words I shall relate it. In the year 1686, " when the business of the Test was in agitation, William Penn was employed at the Court of Holland to reconcile the Stadtholder to the views of his father-in-law. Penn became acquainted with most of the Scotch fugitives, and, among the rest, with Sir Robert Steuart of Coltness, and his brother James, who wrote the famous Answer to Fagel; and finding that the violence

violence of their zeal reached little further than the enjoyment of their religious liberty, on his return to London he advised the measure of an indemnity and recall to the persecuted Presbyterians who had not been engaged in treasonable acts of opposition to the Civil Government. Sir Robert availed himself of this indemnity to return to his own country; but found his estate, and only means of subsistence, in the possession of the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton. Soon after his coming to London he met Penn, who congratulated him on his being just about to feel experimentally the pleasure so beautifully expressed by Horace of the 'mihi me reddentis agelli.' Coltness sighed, and said, 'Ah! Mr. Penn, Arran has got my estate, and I fear my situation is about to be now worse than ever.'—— 'What dost thou say?' says Penn: 'thou surprisest and grievest me exceedingly.—Come to my house tomorrow, and I will set matters to right for thee.'

"Penn went immediately to Arran. 'What is this, friend James,' said he to him, 'that I hear of thee? Thou hast taken possession of Coltness's estate. Thou knowest *that it is*

is not thine.'——'That estate,' says Arran, 'I paid a great price for. I received no other reward for my expensive and troublesome embassy in France except this estate; and I am certainly much out of pocket by the bargain.'

"'All very well, friend James,' said the Quaker; 'but of this assure thyself, that if thou dost not give me this moment an order on thy chamberlain for two hundred pounds to Coltness to carry him down to his native country, and a hundred a-year to subsist on till matters are adjusted, I will make it as many thousands out of thy way with the King.' Arran instantly complied, and Penn sent for Sir Robert and gave him the security. After the Revolution Sir Robert, with the rest, had full restitution of his estate; and Arran was obliged to account for all the rents he had received, against which this payment only was allowed to be stated. This authentic particular I received from my illustrious uncle, the late Sir James Steuart Denham, father of the present worthy member for Clydesdale."

Having left the Hague, he proceeded to Amsterdam to promote the object for which he

he had originally come into these parts. Here he visited the members of his own religious Society, and used occasionally his gift as a minister of the Gospel. While here he was at the house of William Sewel, a man of great learning, who wrote afterwards the History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the People called Quakers. Sewel was at this time translating his Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, and his No Cross No Crown, into the Belgic language. They had before known each other, and had corresponded together. This correspondence, which was conducted in Latin, was afterwards continued. I have had access to a part of it, and shall find it useful as I proceed in my work.

From Amsterdam he pursued his travels in the ministry, directing his course to Utrecht; but we know nothing after this of the particular places which he visited. All we know is, that he extended his journey to Germany, and that he was satisfied with the result of it; for, in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends in America after his return from it, he says, in his usual way of speaking on such occasions, that "he had had a blessed service for the Lord."

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On his arrival in England he proceeded directly to Worminghurst. But here he did not remain long. The same cause which had occasioned him to go into Holland and Germany impelled him to travel over a considerable part of his native land. He visited Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the counties of Westmoreland and Durham. In all these he laboured in the vineyard of the Gospel; and it appears that he was equally satisfied with this as with his foreign journey, thankfully confessing that "the Lord had been with him at this season, in a sweet and melting life, to the great joy of himself and refreshment of his friends."

Having now traced his movements for the year, as far as they appear to be known in Europe, it will be proper to see how his American concerns went on for the same period. And, first, it appears by a letter dated Worminghurst, addressed to Thomas Lloyd, the President of his Council, to have been his opinion that the Assembly had conducted themselves rashly, both in the case of Patrick Robinson and Nicholas Moore,

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as mentioned in the last chapter. "I rejoice," says he, "that God has preserved your health so well, and that his blessings are upon the earth, but grieved at the bottom of my heart for the heats and disorders among the people.——This quarrel about 'the Free Society of Traders' has made your great guns heard hither. I blame nothing, nor the Society here to be sure; but I could wish N. Moore and P. Robinson could have been softened, and that J. Claypoole had been more composed.——It may be a mighty political vice, but it is not a moral one.—— I entreat thee to consider of the true reason of our unhappiness, of that side (Pennsylvania), among our magistrates. Is it not their self-value?——Men should be meek, humble, grave. This draws reverence and love together. This wise and good men will do. Is any one out of the way? They should not so much look at his infirmities, as take care they are not also overtaken; eyeing how many good qualities the offender has to serve the public, and not cast a whole apple away for one side being defective."

By two letters written subsequently, dated London, one of them to the before-mentioned

Thomas Lloyd, and the other to James Harrison, his Agent for the estate and manor of Pennsbury, it appears that he had serious cause to be grieved on other accounts. He complained that the Provincial Council had neglected and slighted his letters; that he had religiously consecrated his labour, but that it was neither valued nor understood by them; that they had conducted themselves in such a manner in other respects as to have forfeited their Charter over and over again, if he had chosen to take advantage of it; and that they had entirely neglected the supply which they had promised him. On this latter subject he descended to particulars. He stated "that his quit-rents were then at least of the value of five hundred pounds a year, and then due, though he could not get a penny. God is my witness," says he, "I lie not. I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket* more than ever I saw by

* We may now estimate the sacrifices of William Penn. If his quit-rents amounted to 500*l.* per annum, he must have sold one million of acres of land, for which according to the terms of sale he must have received 20,000*l.* To this add the 6000*l.* now mentioned, and he must have spent 26,000*l.* upon the Province,

by the Province; and you may throw in my pains, cares, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends to serve them."

From the same letters it may be collected, that he began to be embarrassed for want of remittances from America,—so that, though it was his intention to have returned there in the autumn of the present year, he was prevented in some measure from so doing on this account. He declared that the neglect of the supply, which the Council had promised him in consequence of his great expense on account of the Province, was one cause which kept him from Pennsylvania; adding, "that he would not spend his private estate to discharge a public station."

By another letter, written afterwards to James Harrison, his Agent, all the above particulars are confirmed. "Besides," says he, "that the country think not of my supply, (and I resolve never to act the Governor, and keep another family and capacity on my private estate,) if my table, cellar, and

vince, in presents to the Indians, in re-purchases of the land from these, in the maintenance of Government and Governor, and in other public matters; a sum not much short of 100,000*l.* in these days.

stable may be provided for, with a barge and yacht, or sloop, for the service of Governor and Government, I may try to get hence; for in the sight of God I am six thousand pounds and more behind-hand more than ever I received or saw for land in that Province.——There is nothing my soul breathes more for in this world, next my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again——but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done on that side inviting."

To remedy these and other matters, it appears that, after having taken into consideration the conduct of the Council, he resolved, though they had forfeited their Charter, to let them remain as such; but he would no longer allow them to have also the executive power in their hands. One reason of their tardiness and negligence he conceived might be their number, great bodies being more unwieldy and moving with less celerity than smaller. He determined therefore to reduce the Executive to five persons, and made out a fresh Commission accordingly. Considering that Nicholas Moore had been unjustly treated by the Assembly,

sembly, who had removed him from his high situation as a Provincial Judge, he took this opportunity of repairing the injury by appointing him one of the new Commissioners. This step was particularly honourable to William Penn, as it could only have proceeded from his love of justice, Nicholas Moore never having belonged to the Society of the Quakers. It was a step, too, particularly bold, when we consider the imputation it threw upon the Assembly, and the clamour it would be likely to produce against himself. Bold however as it was, he ventured upon it; and Nicholas Moore never disgraced his appointment, continuing in it with honour for the remainder of his life. The following is a copy of the Commission;

"WILLIAM PENN,
"Proprietor and Governor.

"To my trusty and well-beloved Friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, or any three of them, in Philadelphia.

"Trusty and well-beloved! I heartily salute you. Lest any should scruple the termination

mination of President Lloyd's Commission with his place in the Provincial Council, and to the end that there may be a more constant residence of the honorary and governing part of the Government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have sent a fresh Commission of Deputation to you, making any three of you a Quorum, to act in the execution of the Laws, enacting, disannulling, or varying of Laws, as if I myself were there present; reserving to myself the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages.

"First, You are to oblige the Provincial Council to their Charter-attendance, or to take such a Council as you think convenient to advise and assist you in the business of the public; for I will no more endure their slothful and dishonourable attendance, but dissolve the Frame without any more ado. Let them look to it, if any further occasion be given.

"Secondly, That you keep to the dignity of your station, both in Council and out, but especially that you suffer no disorder in the Council, nor the Council and Assembly, nor either of them, to entrench upon the

the powers and privileges remaining yet in me.

"Thirdly, That you admit not any parleys or open conferences between the Provincial Council and Assembly; but let one, with your approbation, propose, and let the other consent or dissent, according to the Charter.

"Fourthly, That you curiously inspect the past proceedings of both, and let me know in what they have broken the bounds or obligations of the Charter.

"Fifthly, That you this very next Assembly General declare my abrogation of all that has been done since my absence; and so of all the Laws but the Fundamentals; and that you immediately dismiss the Assembly and call it again; and pass such of them afresh, with such alterations as you and they shall see meet; and this to avoid a greater inconveniency, which I foresee, and formerly communicated to Thomas Lloyd.

"Sixthly, Inspect the qualifications of members in Council and Assembly, and see they be according to Charter; and especially of those that have the administration of Justice; and whatever you do, let the point of the laws be turned against impiety, and

your

your severe brow be upon all the troublesome and vexatious, more especially trifling Appealers.

"You shall shortly have a Limitation from the King, though you have power, with the Council and Assembly, to fix the matter and manner of Appeals, as much as to do any justice, or prevent any disorder in the Province, at all.

"Seventhly, That, till then, I have sent you a Proclamation to that effect, according to the powers of Ordinance making, as declared in my Letters Patent, which you may expose as you please.

"Eighthly, Be most just, as in the sight of the all-seeing, all-searching God; and, before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to Him, (who is not far away from any of you, and by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice,) that he may give you a good understanding and government of yourselves in the management thereof; which is that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those that perform them. You shall hear further from me by C. King. The ship is ready to sail: so I shall only admonish you in general, that, next to the preservation

servation of virtue, you have a tender regard to peace and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help, and serve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord. So, commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at Worminghurst in Old England the first of the twelfth month, 1686."

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIII.

A. 1687—carries up Address of the Quakers to James the Second on his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—his speech to the King—the King's answer—travels into different counties—preaches at Bristol fair—and at Chew under an oak—and at Chester, where the King hears him—goes to Oxford—meets the King there, who interferes unjustly in the election of a President for Magdalen College—his noble reproof of the latter—his interview with a Deputation from the College—writes "Good Advice to the Church of England and Catholic and Protestant Dissenters"—also "The great and popular Objection against the Repeal of the penal Laws stated and considered"—affairs of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM PENN, having come to England in behalf of religious liberty, could not but look back with pleasure upon the Proclamation which had been made the preceding year. Anxiously as he desired to return to America, and much as his presence was wanted there, he could not leave the kingdom just when success began to dawn upon his endeavours. He resolved therefore to stay awhile longer, that he might continue his exertions in the same cause.

In the month of April the King, influenced in part by his representations, issued a De-

a Declaration of Liberty of Conscience for England, and for suspending the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical. In the preamble to this he expressed his abhorrence of persecution for religion, in which he said he did not doubt of the concurrence of his Parliament. He renewed his promise of maintaining the Church of England. He suspended all the laws made against Dissenters. He declared all his subjects equally capable of employment in the State. He suppressed therefore all Oaths and Tests which limited them in this respect, and concluded by promising that he would maintain all equally in their properties, and particularly in the possession of the Abbey-lands.

By this Declaration Protestant-Dissenters experienced a general ease, and enjoyed their meetings peaceably. The Quakers, who had smarted more than others by the penal laws, could not be less sensible of their relief than these. They could not see such a Declaration as the preceding without feeling thankful to the author of it; and therefore, though they did not approve of all the political acts of the King during the short time he had reigned,

reigned, they determined at their yearly meeting, the representatives of their body being then assembled, to express their gratitude for this seasonable respite from oppression. Accordingly the following Address to James the Second, containing the humble and grateful acknowledgements of his peaceable subjects called Quakers, was proposed and carried.

"We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience' sake; and we rejoice that, instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he has given Us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the King, out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious Proclamation and Warrants, whereby twelve hundred prisoners were released from their several imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and by his princely Speech in Council and Christian Declaration for Liberty of Conscience,

ence, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his reign: We do, as our Friends of this City have already done, render the King our humble, Christian, and thankful acknowledgements, not only in behalf of Ourselves, but with respect to our Friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God with all our hearts to bless and preserve thee, O King, and those under thee, in so good a work: And as We can assure the King it is well accepted in the several counties from which We came, so We hope the good effects thereof for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom will produce such a concurrence from the Parliament as may secure it to our posterity in after times; and, while We live, it shall be our endeavour, through God's grace, to demean ourselves, as in conscience to God and duty to the King We are obliged, his peaceable, loving, and faithful subjects."

William Penn, having been appointed by the

the Yearly Meeting, with certain others, to present this their Address, was admitted with his associates to the King, before whom he delivered himself in these words:

"It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews in the case of tribute, 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the King has given us an illustrious example, in his own person, that excites us to it: for while he was a subject he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is Cæsar he gives God his due, namely, the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then, for any Englishman that professes Christianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire by adding their affections to their duty. And We pray God to continue the King in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity, and the good of civil society on its side, a security to him beyond the little arts of Government.

"I would

"I would not that any should think that We come hither with design to fill the Gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so We should be harder if We were not moved to gratitude.

"Now, since the King's mercy and goodness have reached to Us throughout the kingdom of England and principality of Wales, our General Assembly from all those parts, met at London about our church affairs, has appointed Us to wait upon the King with our humble thanks, and Me to deliver them; which I do, by this Address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject."

After this introductory speech the Address was read; to which the King made the following reply:

"Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for your Address. Some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr. Penn,) that it was always my principle, that conscience ought not to be forced, and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in my Declaration I will continue to perform so long as I live. And I hope,

I hope, before I die, to settle it so, that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

The summer coming on, William Penn travelled into Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Glocestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, and the counties of Stafford and Warwick.

While in Glocestershire, he took the opportunity of going to Bristol fair, where there was usually a great concourse of people. He held several meetings for worship during the fair, which appear to have been particularly crowded. John Whiting, in speaking of these in his Memoirs, writes thus: "I and my wife went to Bristol fair as usual, our friend William Penn being there, where were *mighty meetings*, notwithstanding the late persecution in that city. *I never knew greater*, though I had been acquainted with them and frequented them at times, when at liberty, for sixteen years, even from the time of building the great meeting-house there. People flocked to them like doves to the windows, which I note to show the ineffectualness of persecution."

While at Bristol he went to Chew in Somersetshire, about five or six miles from that

that city. There being at this place no house or building to be had sufficient to hold those who came to hear him, he held the meeting in the open air, in a close belonging to Richard Vickris, and under the boughs of his great oak. "A large and heavenly meeting it was," says the same author, "many Friends and others of the country round about being there, and the more, that it was the first time, as I remember, that William Penn was ever in our county."

Among the places he visited in Cheshire was Chester itself. The King, who was then travelling, arriving there at the same time, went to the meeting-house of the Quakers to hear him preach. This mark of respect the King showed him also at two or three other places, where they fell in with each other in the course of their respective tours.

At Oxford they came in together; and here William Penn had an opportunity of showing not only his courage, but his consistency in those principles of religious liberty which he had defended during his whole life. When the King's Declaration before mentioned came out, some of the Bishops, who were supposed to have been

gained over by the Court, set on foot addresses of thanks to His Majesty for the promise he had made in that Declaration of supporting the Church of England, "though," says Bishop Burnet, "it was visible that their intent was to destroy the Church." Among these was Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who had been an Independent, and was now suspected of Popish principles. The King was desirous of obliging this prelate in his turn; and therefore, when he was on his visit to Oxford at this time, he recommended him (the election of Dr. Hough having been unjustly pronounced null and void) as a fit person to fill the Presidentship of Magdalen College. To support him more effectually, the King ordered the Fellows of that College to attend him. They came accordingly, but could not agree to his recommendation. The King, however, would neither hear them speak, nor receive a petition to the contrary, but dismissed them, commanding them to return and elect the Bishop immediately. In consequence of this they withdrew, but on the same evening returned, and each gave in his own answer in writing. There were twenty present. Nineteen

Nineteen of them, it appears, stated, that they could not in conscience comply with the King's request. Only one gave a dubious answer. This happened on the Sunday night. Next morning William Penn was on horseback ready to leave Oxford; but knowing what had taken place, he rode up to Magdalen College, and conversed with the Fellows on the subject. After this conversation he wrote a letter, and desired them to present it to the King, and then took his departure. In this letter he signified to His Majesty, as mildly as he could, his disapprobation of his conduct on this occasion. Dr. Sykes, in relating this anecdote of William Penn by letter to Dr. Charlett, who was then absent, mentions that Mr. Penn, "after some discourse with the Fellows of Magdalen College, wrote a short letter directed to the King. He wrote to this purpose:—*that their case was hard*, and that *in their circumstances they could not yield obedience without breach of their oaths.*" Mr. Creech also, who was at Oxford at the time, in giving an account of the same event to the same person, said that "Mr. Penn, the Quaker, with whom he dined the day before

and had a long discourse concerning the College, wrote a letter to the King in behalf of the Fellows, intimating that *such mandates were a force on conscience, and not very agreeable to his other gracious indulgencies.*" In this account Sewel, who was then in correspondence with William Penn, and who knew almost every thing relating to him as it happened, agrees in a striking manner. Sewel, it must be observed, had never seen the letters either of Dr. Sykes or Mr. Creech, for they were not made public till long after his death; and yet in his History of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers he writes thus: "It caused no small fermentation in the minds of people, when the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were by the King's order dispossessed to make way for Romanists. This was such a gross usurpation, that William Penn, who had ready access to the King, and who endeavoured to get the penal laws and tests abrogated, thinking it possible to find out a way whereby to limit the Papists so effectually that they should not be able to prevail, did for all that not omit to blame this usurpation at Oxford, and to tell the King, that it was

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an act which *could not in justice be defended, since the general liberty of conscience did not allow of depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do*, as the Fellows of the said College appeared to have done."

William Penn, having left the above letter for the King, took his departure home. The affair, however, with respect to the Presidentship of the College was not settled, neither was it settled as it related to William Penn. The Fellows remained resolute, and the King angry. At length the King took his departure also. Soon after this it was reported*, that His Majesty had issued an order to proceed against the College by a writ of Quo Warranto. This report was strengthened by a letter to Dr. Thomas Bailey, one of the senior Fellows, in which the writer said, that he addressed him out of a compassionate concern for him and his brethren, to persuade them either to comply with His Majesty's letters mandatory, or to think of some expedient to prevent the ruin of the College and themselves, that the order for the Quo Warranto against the College might be recalled before it was too

* See Wilmot's Life of Dr. Hough.

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late. The writer also suggested to him and his brethren the necessity of some concession to the King for their past conduct.

As this letter was sent without any signature to it, the author was not known. Dr. Bailey, however, chose to attribute it to William Penn, and this expressly *on account of the benevolent object it had in view.* He therefore ventured to answer it, as if it had actually come from the latter. This was on the third of October. "The paper inclosed," says the Doctor to William Penn, "is a copy of a letter, which *by the charitable purpose of it* seems to be written by you, *who have already been so kind as to appear in our behalf*, and are reported by all who know you, to *employ much of your time in doing good to mankind, and using your credit with His Majesty to undeceive him in any wrong impressions* given him of his conscientious subjects; and, when his justice and goodness have been thereby abused, *to reconcile the persons injured to His Majesty's favour, and secure them by it from oppression and injustice.* In this confidence I presume to make application to you."——After this the Doctor stated the merits of the case, and solicited his

his mediation to restore him and his brethren to His Majesty's good opinion.

It is not known whether William Penn ever wrote the one or answered the other letter. It is certain, however, that the College, still alarmed by there port of the writ as before mentioned, thought it worth while to try his influence with the King, and therefore sent a deputation of five persons, Hough, Hunt, Hammond, Young, and Cradock, to Windsor, where he then was, to ask his interference in their behalf. An account of the conversation which passed on this occasion was given by Dr. Hough in a letter to a relation, which he wrote on the evening after it had taken place.

It appears by this letter, that William Penn gave them two interviews, which together lasted about three hours. In the first he "began by stating to them the great concern he had for the welfare of their College, the many efforts he had made to reconcile them with the King, and the great sincerity of his intentions and actions; that he thought nothing in this world was worth a trick, or any thing sufficient to justify collusion or deceitful artifice."——Upon the Delegates telling him that they relied upon his

his sincerity, he gave them an historical account of his acquaintance with the King; assured them it was not Popery, but Property, that began it; that, however people were pleased to call him Papist, he was a dissenting Protestant; and that he dissented from Papists in almost all those points wherein they (the Delegates) differed from them, and in many wherein they (the Delegates) and the Papists agreed." The first interview seems to have been taken up in preliminaries of this sort.

In the second he told them, he wished with all his heart that he had sooner concerned himself in their business, for he owned to them he feared they had come too late. He would use, however, his endeavours; and if they were unsuccessful, they (the Delegates) must attribute it to want of power in him, and not of good will to serve them. Upon this it was stated, that the most effectual way to serve them would be to give His Majesty a true state of the case, which they had reason to suppose His Majesty had never received. They then presented him with certain papers for this purpose. On receiving them, he read them attentively; and after making objections, which

which were answered by Dr. Hough, he promised faithfully to read every word to the King, unless he was peremptorily commanded to forbear. He said, however, that the measures which had been resolved upon against the College were such as the King thought would take effect, but he himself knew nothing in particular.

After this the illness of Bishop Parker (whom the King had nominated to the Presidentship) became a subject of conversation; when William Penn observed with a smile, that, if he were to die, Dr. Hough (who had been elected but displaced) might be made Bishop. Hough replied, he had no ambition above the post in which he was; and that, having never been conscious to himself of any disloyalty towards his Prince, he could not but wonder what it was should make him so much more incapable of serving His Majesty in the College, than those His Majesty had been pleased to recommend. William Penn said, that Majesty did not love to be thwarted, and after so long a dispute they could not expect to be restored to the King's favour without making some concessions. Hough told him in reply, that they were ready to make all

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that were consistent with honesty and conscience; but that they were justified in all that had been done by their oaths and statutes, besides which they had a religion to defend. The Papists had already gotten Christ-church and University Colleges. The present struggle was for Magdalen, and in a short time they threatened they would have the rest. Upon this William Penn replied with vehemence thus: "That," says he, "they shall never have, assure yourselves. If once they proceed so far, they will quickly find themselves destitute of their present assistance. For my part, I have always declared my opinion, that the preferments of the Church should not be put into any other hands but such as they at present are in; but I hope you would not have the two Universities such invincible bulwarks for the Church of England, that none but they must be capable of giving their children a learned education. I suppose two or three Colleges will content the Papists. Christ-church is a noble structure; University is a pleasant place, and Magdalen College is a comely building."

Here the conversation ended, and this rather abruptly; for the Delegates began to be

be dissatisfied with their interview. They thought, strange to relate, that William Penn had been rambling, and, because he spoke doubtfully about the success of his intended efforts, and of the superior capacity of the Established Clergy that they alone should monopolize education, that his language was not to be depended upon as sincere! How this could have come into their heads, except from the terror into which the situation of the College had thrown them, it is not easy to conceive: for certainly William Penn was as explicit as any man could have been under similar circumstances. He informed them that, after repeated efforts with the King, he feared they had come too late, and that the King expected that the measures he had taken would prove effectual. This was plain language. He informed them again, that he would make another trial with the King; that he would read their papers to him, unless peremptorily commanded to forbear; but that, if he failed, they must attribute his want of success not to his want of will but to his want of power. This, though expressive of his doubts and fears, was but a necessary caution, when his exertions had already failed; and it was still more

more necessary, when there was reason to suppose that, though the King had a regard for him, and was glad to employ him as an instrument in forwarding his public views, yet that he would not gratify him where his solicitations directly opposed them. That William Penn did afterwards make a trial with the King to serve the College there can be no doubt, because no instance can be produced wherein he ever forfeited his word or broke his promise: but all trials with this view must of necessity have been ineffectual. The King and his Ministers had already determined the point in question, and what had been deemed necessary as political conduct was not to be prevented by private interference or intercession; for in a few days afterwards Commissioners went down to Oxford for the purpose of carrying the King's views into effect: the consequence of which was, that, after a noble resistance on the part of Dr. Hough and almost all the Fellows, both he and they were displaced; though afterwards, when the King began to see the impolicy of this and other of his unjust proceedings, they were restored.

William Penn, having returned from his journey as before mentioned, became an au-

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thor again. He had observed, during his travels, that, however sincere the King himself might be in his late Declaration for the removal of Tests and Penalties as unjust in principle and buthensome to conscience, the Church of England was inimical to it, believing that, though the King might wish thereby to relieve Protestant Dissenters, his great object was to protect the Roman Catholics in their worship, and to give a spread to their religion. The late Declaration therefore had become unpopular. But, unpopular as it was, he considered it to be just, and not only just, but to be conducive to the public interest; and therefore, without any regard to it as a measure of the King, he determined to defend it upon broad and general principles. He brought out accordingly a work (to which however he did not affix his name lest it might prejudice the reader) called "Good Advice to the Church of England, and Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, in which it is endeavoured to be made appear, that it is their Duty, Principle, and Interest, to abolish the Penal Laws and Tests."

He began his book by showing, first, that it was the Christian duty of the Church of England.

England. Among the arguments used were these: that Faith was the gift of God, and of him alone; that God alone was the Lord of Conscience; that Christianity was built on Love; that Christ was sent to us in Love, that he lived in Love, and that he died, and died for us also, in Love. He considered, he said, these sanguinary Laws to be like the abomination of the Jews, *or the sacrifice of their children to Moloch*, for which they were grievously punished. They were equally sinful; for *men, women, and children were offered up by means of them without mercy*. But to whom? It was said, To God. But this rendered the case worse; because then it was to be taken for granted, that the only good, just, wise, and merciful Being delighted in cruelty. He adverted also, in proof of his position, to the conduct of our Saviour on two occasions. First, when his disciples would have called down fire from heaven on the Samaritans, because on account of their religious prejudices they would not receive him, he rebuked them for the very thought. Secondly, he opposed them also, when, on seeing a man casting out devils in his name, they forbad him, because he would not follow them. "Here," says he, reasoning

reasoning upon the latter instance, "was at least a dissenting Christian and a Believer. But what did our Saviour say to all this? He said, 'Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is with us.' The prohibition then by the disciples was taken off by our Lord, and their judgement was reversed." He considered it also to be the duty of Christians to do as they would be done by. Now the Church of England complained bitterly of the severities exercised by that of Rome upon poor Protestants in France, and yet practised them herself upon poor Protestants in England. If there was also any thing in Popery which the Church of England disliked more than another, it was the violence of the former. She did not count the Popish Doctors Conjurors for their Transubstantiation, or dangerous to the State for their Beads and Purgatory. It was the forcing others to their Faith, or ruining them for refusing it, which was the terrible thing she apprehended; and yet she herself hanged, banished, and imprisoned, and this even unto death. It was her duty, again, to avoid severity where it would be useless. But what was the use of Penal Laws, but to show the sincerity of those who

who suffered, and the cruelty of those who made them?

He showed next, that it was not the principle of the Church of England to persecute. "That I may do," says he, "the Reformation right, and the principles of the Church of England justice, I must say, that hardly one person of any note died in the time of Queen Mary, who did not pass sentence upon Persecution as antichristian, particularly Latimer, Philpot, Bradford, and Rogers, who were very eminent Reformers. The Apologies which were written in those times are in the same strain, as may be seen in Jewel, Haddon, Reynolds, and others."—— "But why need we go far back? Is it not recent in memory, that Bishop Usher was employed on a mission to Oliver Cromwell by some of the Clergy of the Church of England for liberty of conscience?"——He then appealed to the writings of Dr. Hammond, and, after that, to the Sermons of Bishop Saunderson, from which he made copious extracts, one of which I will insert. "The word of God," says Bishop Saunderson, "doth expressly forbid us to subject our consciences to the judgement of any other, or to usurp a dominion over the consciences of any

any one." He then cited from the writings of Dr. Taylor, Bishop of Down, no less than eight passages, among which I select the three following: "I am," says this learned prelate, "most of all displeased, that men should be persecuted and afflicted for their religious opinions. If I should tie another man to believe my opinion, because I think I have a place of Scripture which seems to warrant it to my understanding, why may he not serve up another dish to me in the same dress, and exact the same task of me to believe the contradictory?"—— "If a man never changes his opinion heartily or resolutely, but when he cannot do otherwise, then to use force may make him an hypocrite, but never a right believer, and so, instead *of erecting a trophy to God*, we build a *monument for the Devil*."—— "The experience which Christendom has had in this last age is argument enough, that Toleration of differing opinions is so far from disturbing the public peace, or destroying the interests of Princes and Commonwealths, that it does advantage to the public. It secures peace, because there is not so much as the pretence of religion left to such persons to contend for, it being already indulged to them."

them."——Last of all, he brought together extracts from the Sermons of the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, and others, in proof of the same point; but I have, unfortunately, no room for their insertion.

He then went to his third point; namely, to show that it was the interest of all parties, but more particularly of the Church of England, that the Penal Laws and Tests should be abolished. He appealed to the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Charles the First, and argued from the circumstances of those times in favour of the proposition as now stated: but as his arguments were all of them suited to the political state of the kingdom as it then existed, it would be unnecessary to repeat them. It would be equally useless to repeat those, which he advanced to prove, that it would be to the interest of Dissenters, that these legal penalties should be removed. I may observe then, that, when he had finished these, he proceeded to the consideration of the late Royal Declaration, and that he manfully defended it. He allowed, however, that if it were the wish of a majority of the kingdom, that the Established Religion, as it then stood, should be the national

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one, it ought to be so. He allowed also, that, if there must be an Established National Religion, he had rather that the extraordinary power attached to it should be vested in the hands of the Church of England*, than in those of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, or any Dissenting Church: yet he insisted upon Toleration for all, even for Roman Catholics, who did so dissent; and he advised the latter to be satisfied with a bare Toleration, seeing that the whole nation was against them. In the concluding part of his work, after having stated, that since the late King's Restoration *above fifteen thousand families had been ruined, and more than five thousand persons had died in bonds for matters of mere conscience to God*; he earnestly recommended to all parties, that if they could not agree to meet in one common profession of religion, they would at least do all in their power to promote one common civil interest, the great good of their country, in which they were all equally concerned as subjects, and as living in the same land.

* This sentiment entirely coincides with his declaration to the Magdalen Delegates as just stated, though they were so displeased with him.

Soon after the publication of this he brought out another work, which he called "The great and popular Objection against the Repeal of the penal Laws briefly stated and considered." This indeed might, from its connection and contents, be considered as a sort of supplement or second volume to the former. I do not intend, however, to give any analysis of its contents, because the arguments, contained in it, were directed against objections not essential or permanent, but such as were local and temporary, and drawn from the peculiar circumstances of the times.

With respect to his American concerns, which I am now to notice, it has been stated, that he had taken the executive part of the Government from the Provincial Council, and that he had lodged it in the hands of five Commissioners of State, of whom Thos. Lloyd was to be the President. It appears that in the month of June he addressed a letter to these, one of the first since that which conveyed to them their appointment, by which we see under his own hand his reason for the change. "I found," says he, "my former Deputation clogged with a long and slow tale of persons rarely got together, and

and then with unwillingness, and sometimes with reflections even upon me for their pains of hearing one letter read." He instructed the Commissioners to revive the Custom-act, as the most equal and least offensive way of supporting the Government. He reminded them also of their new appointment, and among many other excellent suggestions for their conduct gave them the following advice: "Be diligent, faithful, loving, and communicate one with another in things that concern the public.——Draw not several ways: have no cabals apart, nor reserves from one another: treat with a mutual simplicity, an entire confidence in one another; and if at any time you mistake, or misapprehend, or dissent from one another, let not that appear to the people. Show your virtues, but conceal your infirmities. This will make you awful and reverent with the latter. Justice, mercy, temperance of spirit, are high qualities, and necessary ones in Government. I beseech God to fit you for his work more and more, by whom all Governors and people in authority ought to be influenced in their administration of temporal things committed to their care."

It does not appear that even so late as December

December in this year he had received any accounts from America, which gave him reason to think that matters were going on better there than before; for in a letter which he wrote to the Commissioners, dated in that month from Holland-house, we find the old topics of complaint relative to neglect in writing to him, and in collecting his quit-rents, revived.

"I am heartily sorry," says he, "that I had no letter from the Government. Indeed I have hardly had one at all: and for private letters, though from public persons, I regard them but little; I mean, as to taking my public measures by: for I find such contradictions, as well as diversity, that I believe I may say, I am one of *the unhappiest Proprietors with one of the best of people.* If this had not been complained of in mine by Edward Blackfan, I should have been less moved at this visible incomplacency and neglect.——Had the Government signed, I mean those who are the most eminent in authority, by consent of the rest, it had given me some ease and satisfaction; but as it is, 'tis *Controversy* rather than *Government;* for Government stands, and lives, and prospers in unity, at least of the governing part,

part, whatever be their affections; for men may agree in duty, who dislike one another's natural tempers.——I shall henceforth therefore expect letters from the Government, recounting the affairs of it, that they may be authoritative to me, and as many private ones as you please besides.

"I wrote to you about my quit-rents. I am forced to pay bills here to supply my family there, while I have five hundred pounds per annum in quit-rents there. You may remember the Votes of Council to pay my charges in this expedition. I could draw a large sum on the Provincial Council in this respect. I am sure I need it, but have forborne, though it is none of the endearingest considerations that I have not had the present of a skin or a pound of tobacco since I came over; though they are like to have the most advantage by it, and though they promised me so much."

He was also grieved, as appears by another of his letters, with the intended resignation of President Lloyd, who was a very honourable and upright man, and who was probably not satisfied with the conduct of his colleagues. "I am sorry," says he, "that my esteemed friend covets a quietus, who is young,

young, active, and ingenious. From such it is that I expect help; and such will not sow, I hope, in vain."

It appears also, by a letter which he wrote to his agent James Harrison, that the only reason of his stay in England was, that he might consummate the great object for which he had gone thither. He wished to see the "establishment of the liberty which he was a small instrument to begin in the land. The Lord," says he, "has given me great entrance and interest with the King, though not so much as is said; and I confess I should rejoice to see poor Old England fixed, and the penal Laws repealed, that are now suspended; and if it goes well with England, it cannot go ill with Pennsylvania. But this I will say, No temporal honour or profit can tempt me to decline poor Pennsylvania, as unkindly used as I am; and no poor slave in Turkey desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you: wherefore be contented awhile, and God in his time will bring us together."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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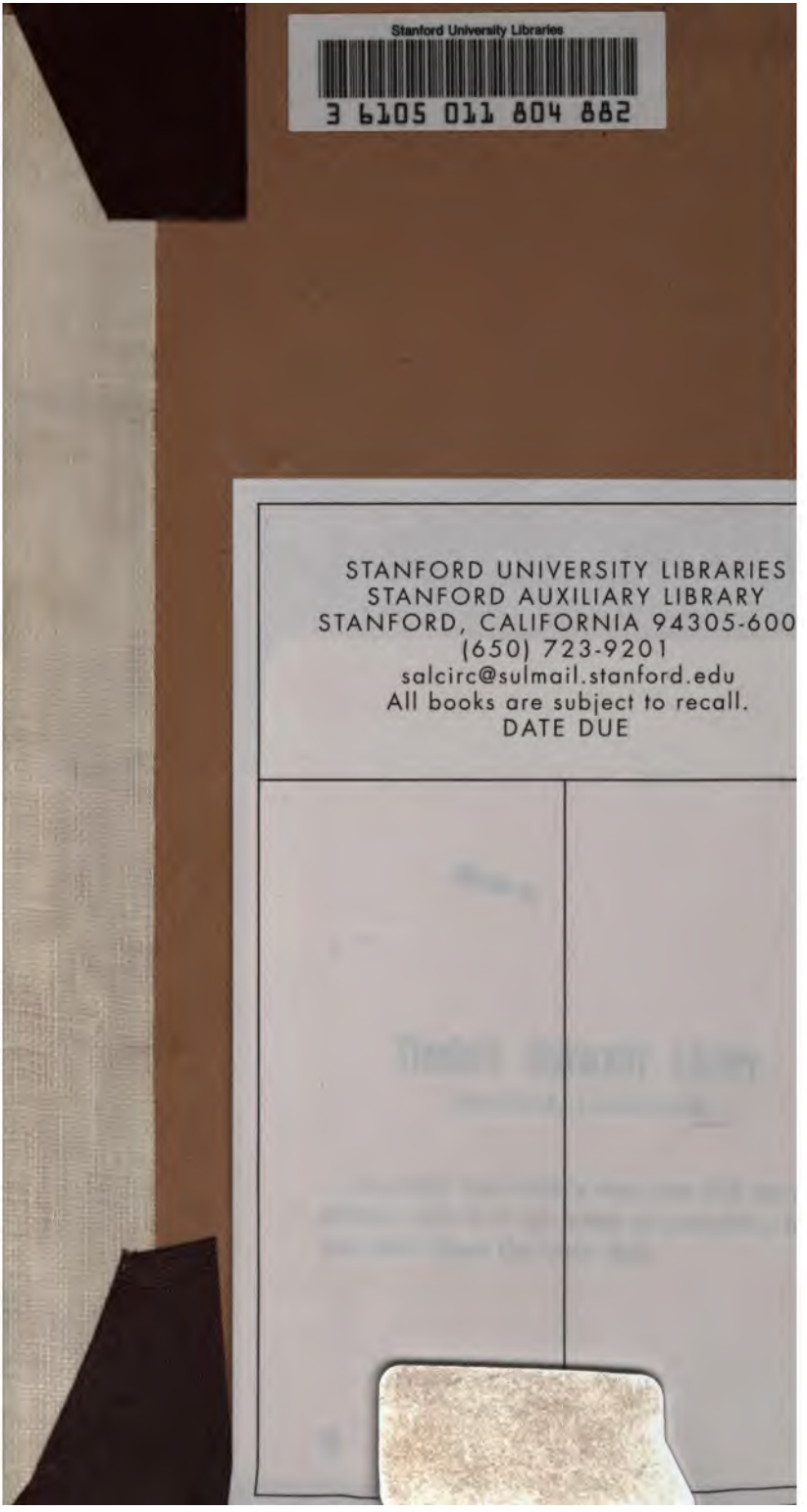
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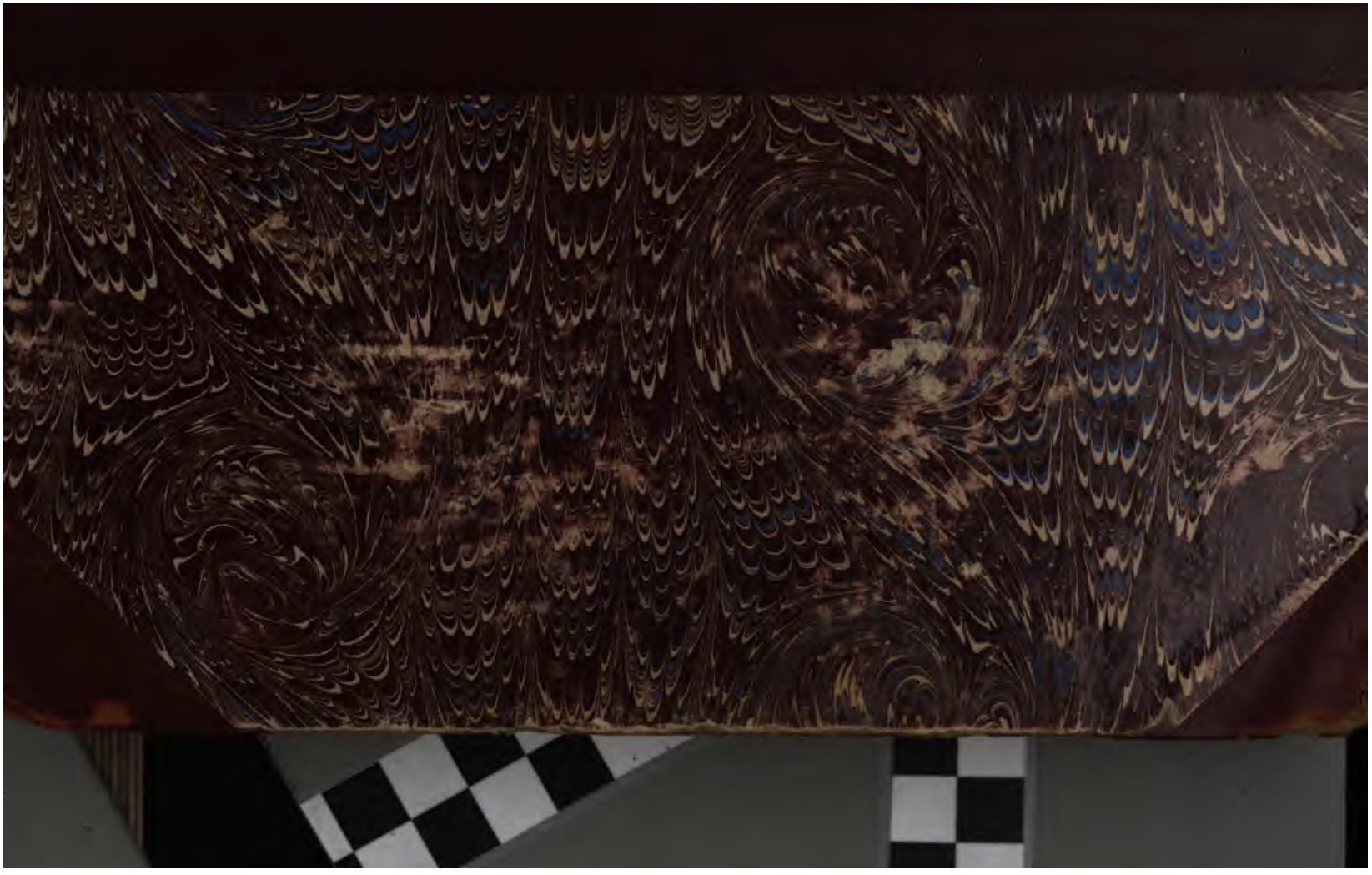
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